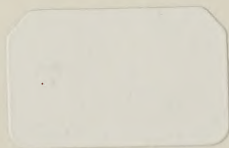
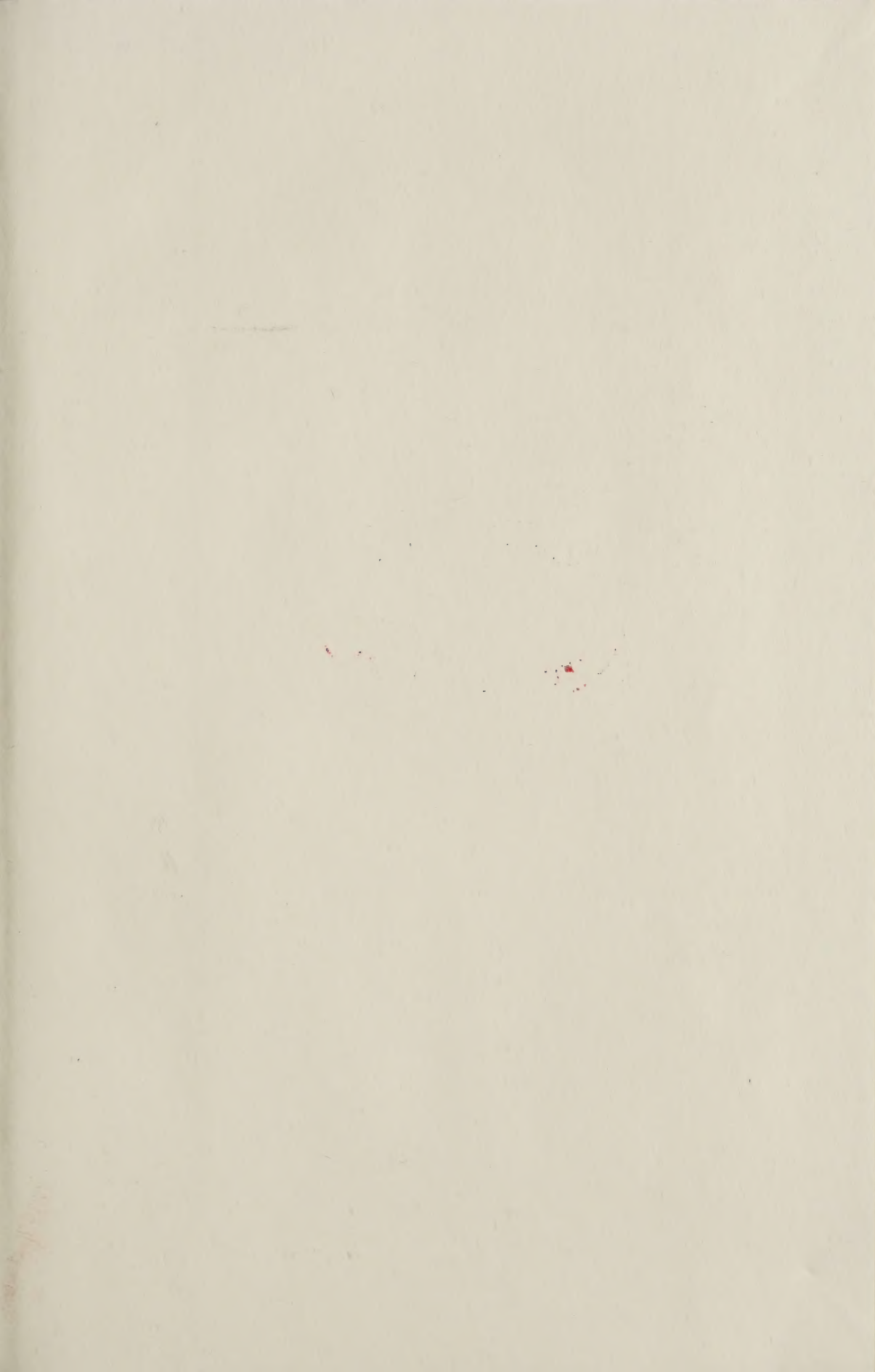




BR 290 .M25 1968 c.2
McNeill, John Thomas, 1885-
Modern Christian movements





MODERN CHRISTIAN MOVEMENTS

John T. McNeill

HARPER TOPIC BOOKS

Harper & Row, Publishers

New York, London, Toronto

MODERN CHRISTIAN MOVEMENTS



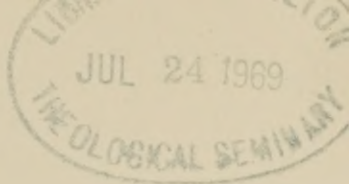
John T. McNeill



HARPER TORCHBOOKS

Harper & Row, Publishers

NEW YORK, EVANSTON, AND LONDON



MODERN CHRISTIAN MOVEMENTS

Copyright 1954 by W. L. Jenkins.

*New material for Torchbook edition
Copyright © 1968 by John T. McNeill.*

Printed in the United States of America.

*This book was originally published by
The Westminster Press, Philadelphia, in 1954,
and is here reprinted by arrangement.*

*First HARPER TORCHBOOK edition published 1968
by Harper & Row, Publishers, Incorporated,
49 East 33rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.*

Library of Congress Catalog card number: 54-8839.

CONTENTS

Preface	7
Preface to Torchbook Edition	8
Introduction	9
1. English Puritanism	15
2. German Pietism	49
3. The Evangelical Movement	75
4. Tractarianism and Anglo-Catholicism	104
5. Roman Catholicism in the Modern Era	130
6. The Ecumenical Movement in Historical Perspective	157
Selected Bibliography	179
Index	193

PREFACE

The substance of these chapters, with the exception of numbers 4 and 5, was presented in Queen's Theological College, Kingston, Ontario, in October, 1950, on the Chancellor's Lectureship founded by Sir Sanford Fleming. I owe a special debt of gratitude to the Board of the college, and to the professors and alumni, whose invitation gave the impulse to begin the book and who during the lectures constituted a keen and stimulating audience. All six of the topics have since been discussed in lectures at various ministers' schools held under the auspices of Union Theological Seminary, Auburn Seminary, and the General Board of Education of the Methodist Church. Conversation with many who were in attendance at these meetings has convinced me that there exists an extraordinary vagueness, coupled with curiosity, concerning the movements here described, among persons otherwise religiously informed. I am convinced too that a fuller knowledge of these key movements of modern Church history would help greatly toward an understanding of the present-day condition and prospects of Christianity, and prove stimulating to the religious life of both ministers and laymen.

JOHN T. McNEILL

Elmsdale, East Middlebury, Vermont
New Year's Day, 1954

PREFACE TO TORCHBOOK EDITION

I am very grateful to Harper and Row for the opportunity to give this book a wider public. With their generous approval some needed alterations have been made in the text. The last page of the Introduction has been rewritten. Through chapters 1 to 4 most of the changes are minor corrections or slight improvements in wording. Chapters 5 and 6 of the former edition have been interchanged. Both these chapters, whose subject matter enters on the contemporary scene, have been extensively altered in the light of recent developments. The Selected Bibliography has been improved by the insertion of references to new editions and an appended list of more recent titles.

Middlebury, Vermont.
1968

JOHN T. McNEILL

INTRODUCTION

Most readers of this book will find in it descriptions of their own religious heritage. They are in some measure the heirs of the important movements, here described, that have stirred Western Christianity during the eventful centuries from the seventeenth to the twentieth. Historians of literature, philosophy, and science frequently refer to the seventeenth century as introducing the modern era. That century saw the chief works of Shakespeare and of Cervantes, the entire production of Milton and of Molière, the vastly influential philosophies of Bacon, Descartes, and Spinoza, the epochal forward thrust of science in the discoveries of Kepler, Galileo, and Newton. These are eminent names among the pioneers of the modern world. It was in their century too that the principles of representative and responsible government that have since prevailed and are today defended were first persistently advocated by many writers and fervently adopted by considerable numbers of mankind.

For the history of Christianity that period was hardly less significant. By 1600 the Reformation as a general movement had spent its force. The national and territorial Churches that had been shaped by it were now to be shaken and divided, both by the impact of political forces and by internal movements whose beginners were intent upon further reform. Nowhere was the conflict more intense or more vividly religious than in England, where the aggregation of forces that we call Puritanism gained a temporary ascendancy. Puritanism proved both divisive and creative. Revolting from the Anglican "Settlement," its spirit produced an unsettlement, a ha-

bitual religious discontent with the state of things. As in no previous age, this has become a constant element of the modern climate, manifesting itself both in an anxious and querulous perfectionism and in a healthy urge for reform. It was characteristic of the Puritan that he viewed the world of men as under the judgment of God; only rarely did he mistake his own judgment for the divine — with devastating results. In so far as we think of social justice as a concern of God, we are following in the way of the Puritans, and are not improbably acting under their influence. Puritanism has left a legacy of great importance not only to England but to the world.

Slightly later in the date of its flowering, but hardly less influential, was German Pietism, a reforming reaction to complacent Lutheranism. That most dismal conflict the Thirty Years' War had left Germany materially exhausted and spiritually enfeebled. Pietism wrought a revival, giving to German Protestantism new devotional reality and social power and sending forth its leaven into all the West and ultimately into all the world. Few people today have any realization of the historic importance of Pietism, or of its contribution to the religious life of later times.

The resemblances and differences of these two related movements will come to the reader's attention in the chapters that follow. Taken together, and in all their aspects, they comprise most of the significant phenomena of Protestantism between 1603, when James I came to the English throne, and 1740, when Frederick the Great of Prussia began his reign with favors to the opponents of Pietism. At its origin, Pietism was somewhat indebted to Puritanism. The two movements remained distinct, but were never arrayed against each other. They contributed jointly and harmoniously to the formation and nourishment of later movements. Methodism drew not a little of its austerity from the one; from the other, much of its ardor. Calvinist Evangelicals too were indebted to Puritanism and in a less degree to Pietism. The revivals that largely recruited the membership of American frontier Churches owed something to both. Certain leaders of both movements — the names of Baxter and Zinzendorf come at once to mind — were prominent advocates of Christian unity in times not so hospitable to such views as our own.

The world mission of nineteenth century Protestantism was foreshadowed by the work of men like the Cambridge Puritan John Eliot and the Halle Pietist Bartholomew Ziegenbalg. Every active member of a present-day Protestant communion is well aware of the missionary and ecumenical interests of his Church; he may not be aware how much of this concern is derived from the attitudes and achievements of resourceful Puritans and Pietists who charted and began tasks not yet completed. So far at least as religion is concerned, we can rightly comprehend our own beliefs and circumstances only in the perspective of history.

In that perspective too the intense struggles and controversies of the modern centuries yield their lessons. Controversy tends to shut us off from our opponents as by an iron curtain. It is left to a later generation to see in the light of history how much has been lost because of these barriers — and how much overt or clandestine trade across them has been carried on. While we repudiate one another's viewpoints, we silently interchange spiritual goods. The Oxford Movement of the 1830's was extremely shocking to typical Protestantism, not only because it deplored the Reformation but because it advocated practices in worship that had long been denounced as superstitious and feared as tokens of the revival of Romanism. Today the prevailing Protestant attitude is somewhat different from this. It is relatively tolerant of Anglo-Catholicism, and even grateful to it for some things. No longer are all medieval features of worship indiscriminately condemned as unscriptural perversions. Informed Protestants have come to realize that the Reformation itself retained numerous traditional church practices, including forms of private confession. They may prefer a relatively simple common worship and remain unimpressed by high doctrines of apostolic succession in the episcopate. But they are generally prepared to respect the convictions of those to whom these are important, and to profit by the products of their devotional life. It is apparent that Anglo-Catholicism, despite its alienation from Protestantism, has already shed something of its influence over most of the Protestant Churches. The fact that there is growing within them a recognition of the significance of the Church, one, catholic, and holy, as a living element of belief is

in part a consequence of the impact of this movement. Yet its ultimate source lies in an earlier Protestant testimony. Because the Oxford Tractarians were the earliest vigorous modern exponents of a doctrine of the divine role of the Church, it is difficult for their successors to realize that the sixteenth century Reformers were equally convinced of this. Modern Protestantism had forgotten the High-churchmanship of John Calvin. John Williamson Nevins of the "Mercersburg School" called attention to it in the 1840's when the Oxford Movement was still young. The Protestant revival of churchmanship now in progress assumes a conception of the Church nearer to that of the Reformed theologians than to that of Pusey and Keble. Yet the emphasis laid upon this element of theology by the Oxford men and their later disciples has undoubtedly stimulated the Protestant mind. Definitions of the Church Catholic may remain divergent while devotion to it becomes a common experience.

The modern history of Roman Catholicism is of incalculable importance, and replete with lessons for Christians beyond its ranks. Having become in the sixteenth century a dismayed remnant left behind by the Reformation, it made a valiant recovery of morale largely through the heroism and assiduity of the Jesuits. But its political claims were flouted in the Peace of Westphalia (1648) and its territories extinguished with the unification of Italy (1870). It was sometimes, as in the Jansenist controversy, torn by bitter internal strife, and it was subjected to humiliation by France, Austria, and other nations in which it had enjoyed a privileged status. It declared new dogmas such as the immaculate conception, papal infallibility, and the assumption of Mary, in defiance of modern intellectual liberalism. But after reaching a low point in political significance and affirming some of the most unmodern principles, it entered upon a rising curve of influence. Since the accession of Pope Leo XIII in 1878 it has made rapid gains in the prevailingly Protestant nations and become a pervasive force in American life. Among the factors that have made this possible are a tenacious adherence to claims of unique divine authority, the powerful leadership of able popes, the devotion of an alert priesthood to the advancement of their Church, and attention to the training of the laity. In areas where

Roman Catholicism has continually enjoyed unrivaled strength and influence, however, its condition is less vigorous. Through its sense of history and unfailing memory of historic experiences, its organization has become extraordinarily adaptable in unessential matters, sensitive to changes of environment and capable of meeting emergencies. It has also commanded the allegiance of many devout souls whose religious insights are highly valuable to all who care to profit by them.

It is altogether a wholesome thing for us who are outside the Roman Catholic Church to cultivate toward it a spirit of fair inquiry. If we remain strangers to its thought and to the movements that have stirred within it since our ancestors severed communion with it long ago, it will be to us a baffling enigma, and if we shun the company of its saints, we shall miss a great stimulation. Many an old-time Puritan was a reader of the thirteenth century Scholastics; many a Pietist and Evangelical fed upon the *Imitation of Christ*, the *Letters* of Fénelon, or the *Thoughts* of Pascal, and familiarized himself with the decrees of the Council of Trent. Like all things else on earth, the Roman Church is subject to change, and Protestants are apt to look upon it as if it had not changed. Yet its changes are mainly adaptations to environment without conscious infringement of traditional principles. Perhaps its modern history offers the most remarkable example that could be cited of the co-ordination of stable purpose with adaptability. Some elements of a useful knowledge of these matters will be found in our closing chapter.

Most of us have an interest in tracing our family genealogies. There are ancestries and posterities, too, in the movements that have deeply affected mankind. It is, of course, rarely if ever possible to say that a movement of thought or religion is born simply of two parent movements, but something analogous to parentage can often be established. Not only do the same genes run through Puritanism, Pietism, and Evangelicalism, but the whole series of fresh awakenings in the modern history of Christianity, however divergent in purpose, bear a family resemblance. They share the cultural atmosphere common to the period from the Puritan to the atomic age. It is unfortunate that the great majority of Christians are content with

a fragmentary and unsure knowledge of the Christian past. So far as the post-Reformation period is concerned, the church historians have themselves been at fault. Many of the best qualified of the older scholars broke off their labors with the Reformation or centuries before it. In the hands of contemporary writers this state of things is gradually changing. Since the first edition of this book appeared a few admirable general texts in modern church history have become available. As it happens, none of them bears any marked resemblance in method or content to the present volume.

Nobody with eyes to see the realities of life can be unaware that within recent decades a new era has opened in the story of mankind. From a disclosure of the power within the minute invisible atom man has moved on to become the explorer of the vast spaces of the skies. Not yet actually, but potentially, man's mastery of physical power is complete. But with all this has come no comparable enhancement of his mental ability or moral virtue, and no fresh light upon the ultimate meaning of the universe. With high optimism the achievements and promises of science were welcomed in the modern age. Scientific research and invention have brought benefits untold, but therewith a trail of dread and perplexity. The alternatives for man on earth during the next half century are vastly divergent in possible happiness or misery, and all forecasts are unconvincing. What is most certain is that our grandchildren will need, amid rapid change and many perils, more of moral courage and benevolent wisdom that we find prevalent today.

These qualities may accompany the scientific mind; but it is in another realm that they are generated, the realm of religion. Man's needs and requirements in this realm are not altered by his achievements in science and technology. The human body may travel far faster than the speed of sound, but it does not leave the soul behind. Nor does its motion match the lightning flash of thought that can in a moment overleap hemispheres and epochs, or, as Milton wrote, "wander through eternity." In religion the man himself is involved; not only what he can do, but what he is and what he loves. May the reader of these chapters find in them something, drawn from the treasure left us by our spiritual ancestors, that he can make his own as an enduring asset in the shifting scene of world events.

Chapter

1

ENGLISH PURITANISM

I

THE character of Malvolio in *Twelfth Night* has left Shakespearean critics engaged in a gentlemanly debate over the interesting question, Is Malvolio a Puritan, and does Shakespeare in portraying this unamiable character express his antipathy to Puritanism? Shakespeare may indeed have been quite conscious that he was giving his readers something to argue about. "Sometimes," says Maria, "he is a kind of puritan," and a few lines later, "The devil a puritan that he is, or anything constantly, but a time-pleaser; an affection'd ass." Now Shakespeare, using the phrase "a kind of puritan" in 1601, was doubtless aware that Puritans were not all of one kind. The name "Puritan" was often, in Shakespeare's age and later, applied rather indiscriminately, and this indefiniteness has persisted in modern discussion. The word has had a wide popular use for a person who follows a strict habit of life. *A Discourse Concerning Puritans* (1641), an anonymous tract attributed to Henry Parker but also to John Ley, indicates the way in which it was employed by some who scoffed at Puritanic scruples:

"In the mouth of a drunkard, he is a Puritan which refuseth his cups: in the mouth of a swearer he which feares an oath; in the mouth of a libertine, he which makes any scruple of common sin: in the mouth of a rude souldier, he which wisheth the Scottish War to an end without blood."

Richard Baxter, who was born in 1615, remembered how his father, who had no objections to the Prayer Book, was called Puritan, precisian, and hypocrite because he avoided popular amusements,

read the Scriptures, prayed in his household, and reproved the drunken and profane.

But in church circles, the Puritans were primarily protesters on behalf of a more sweeping reform, particularly with reference to worship and ceremonial, than Anglicanism afforded. A letter of Thomas Sampson to Peter Martyr, of January, 1560, gives clear expression to one Puritan's distress over these matters at the moment when the Elizabethan settlement of religion was being shaped:

"Oh, my father, what can I hope for when the ministry of the Word is banished from court? while the crucifix is allowed with lights burning before it? . . . What can I hope, when three of our lately appointed bishops are to officiate at the Table of the Lord, one as priest, another as deacon, and a third as subdeacon, before the image of the crucifix, or at least not far from it, with candles, and habited in the golden vestments of the papacy? . . . What hope is there of any good when our party are disposed to look for religion in these dumb remnants of idolatry and not from the preaching of the lively Word of God? . . . I will propose this single question for your resolution . . . whether the image of the crucifix, placed on the Table of the Lord with lighted candles, is to be regarded as a thing indifferent; and if it is not to be considered so, but as an unlawful and wicked practice, then I ask, suppose the queen should enjoin all the bishops and clergy either to admit this image together with the candles into their churches or to retire from the ministry of the Word, what should be our conduct in this case? "

This was the great case of conscience for Puritans in holy orders. Four years later Sampson, along with Lawrence Humphrey, in an address to Archbishop Parker said:

"Conscience is a tender thing, and all men cannot look upon the same things as indifferent. If therefore these habits seem so to you, you are not to be condemned by us. On the other hand, if they do not appear so to us, we ought not to be vexed by you."

Robert Crowley in *A Brief Discourse Against the Outward Apparell and Ministring Garmentes of the Popische Church* (1566), writing of things not commanded or forbidden in Scripture, shows us how conscience must sometimes decide where Scripture is silent:

"We graunt that of themselves they be things indifferent . . . but when the use of them will destroy or not edifie, then ceasse they to be so indifferent that in such case we may use them."

Certainly these ecclesiastical habiliments were not the concern of Malvolio, Shakespeare's spoilsport who would have no cakes and ale. There were some very religious Puritans too whose interests lay elsewhere. This is true of William Perkins of Cambridge, whom Louis B. Wright has dubbed "Elizabethan apostle of practical divinity." In 1642, just forty years after Perkins' death, Thomas Fuller said of him: "An excellent Chirurgeon [surgeon] he was at the joynting of a broken soul and at stating of a doubtful conscience." It was as a guide of conscience that he was most celebrated; but he was also held in high esteem as a theologian and as a defender of the doctrine of predestination, to which, at that time, most Anglicans as well as Puritans firmly adhered. Perkins knows well, too, that conscience is a tender thing — perhaps we ought to say in his case, a terrifying thing. He once wrote:

"Let a man commit any trespass or offense, though it be done in secret and concealed from the knowledge of any person living, yet conscience does know of it and will accuse him and terrify him, cite him before God, and give him no rest."

Perkins, however, treated conscience in relation to other problems than those which exercised Sampson.

Most Puritan diaries are replete with evidence of the haunting specter of an accusing conscience. This is how it affects Richard Rogers, a student of Perkins (1589):

"So many thoughtes stufte my minde. . . . But the chieftest is mine evel heart which cannot setle to study. . . . Oh Lord, what heavenly bookes lye by me unoccupied and unsearched."

And here is John Ward lamenting his sins (1595):

"My incontinent thoughts at Hobson's . . . my great mirth at bowling after supper . . . my immoderate eating of wallnutes and cheese after supper whereby I did distemper my body . . . [And equally to the

point]: My confused lecture which I red to my auditores . . . my want of meditation with Christ when I ly down to sleep. My drowsines in reading Ursinus . . . also my intemperate eating of damzens."

The sins that worried many Puritans were their own, but many of them too were primarily concerned with the sins of others. Some prominent Puritans spent their energies in animated controversy over the polity and ministry of the Church. They cried out against prelacy as unscriptural, and they defended as Scriptural a Presbyterian or an Independent model of church government. There were still others who explored the depths and heights of spiritual and mystical experience.

It is obvious then, at the outset, that the term Puritanism is a comprehensive one, a blanket thrown over a wide variety of critics and moralists. Puritanism had no founder. Carlyle's famous statement that John Knox was "high priest and founder" of Puritanism is rhetorically good and historically bad. Knox was only one of those who contributed to its early development, and very many who must be embraced in the category of Puritans would have contended against him to the uttermost. Indeed, to describe Puritanism as a "movement" is to suggest too much of unity and purpose. It has something of the variety, color, and motion of a Brueghel canvas.

Historians have used the word "Puritanism" so comprehensively as to include those of all groups who objected to the worship or polity of the Anglican Church, and stood, so to speak, on the Protestant side of Anglicanism in its relations with Rome. It is difficult to define very accurately a term that is made to apply alike to the Separatist Robert Brown and the Presbyterian Thomas Cartwright; to men like William Perkins and Thomas Adams, Puritan voices within Anglicanism; to John Smyth, William Ames, John Robinson, and the rest of the variant band who went into exile; to the Smectymnuans, along with the Five Dissenting Brethren. The term becomes still more miscellaneous in its application when we include the Quakers, Seekers, Ranters, Fifth Monarchy Men, Family of Love, Levellers, Diggers, and Muggletonians; restless propagandists like William Prynne; mystics like Peter Sterry and Sir Francis Rous;

individuals so different as Richard Baxter, John Bunyan, and George Fox; or the amazing New Englanders, Roger Williams, with his bold program of toleration, and the introspective Cotton Mather, now prone on his study floor humiliated by his sins, and again writing in his diary (February 9, 1684):

“In passing along the streets, I have set myself to bless thousands of persons who never knew I did it, with secret wishes after this manner sent unto heaven for them.”

The fact is that a recklessly extensive application of the word “Puritan” has become habitual and virtually unavoidable. The discriminating student will seek to set the variant forms of Puritanism in logical categories. He may, for example, classify the Puritans as conforming Puritans, Presbyterians, Separatists and Independents, spiritual sectarians and miscellaneous fanatics. (In somebody’s eyes all of us are sectarians and many of us fanatics.) But when we have catalogued them in this or any other convenient way, and have given our attention to the peculiarities of those in each class, we shall hardly excuse ourselves from the attempt to view Puritanism as a whole. We shall then recognize, I believe, that, with the possible exception of some of the wilder (and smaller) sects, all these varieties have something in common.

We may sense this common element and yet find it very difficult to identify and describe. Let us reflect on the word “Puritanism” and its connotations. It so happens that the term, though offensive to those to whom it was applied, was not ineptly chosen. Though its use has been incautiously extended, the groups and persons comprehended under it were all intent upon purifying the Church, as they understood matters, from accumulated corruptions and abuses which official Anglicanism seemed content to retain. All that was nonscriptural in polity, worship, and teaching was to be stripped away, and the Bible was to furnish direction for the conduct of daily life. If some of the groups and persons mentioned above moved from a literal Scriptural basis to a doctrine of spiritual inner authority, they were therefore not less but more critical of the elaboration of public worship.

The Puritan would say with Paul, "This one thing I do." Taking the Scripture very simply as the Word of God, he disciplined himself to obey it. If altars and surplices and crucifixes were unknown in the New Testament Church, they are superfluous and indefensible in the Church of England. To require them, said John Gilby in 1581, was "to make Antichristes ragges a *sine qua non*." There were sinful superfluities in life and conduct too that must be cast out. The Puritans proposed a great simplification of worship and life. The brief span of our earthly years determines our eternal bliss or anguish. To loiter on our heavenly pilgrimage would be consummate folly. We husband our time, allowing no hour to slip by unprofitably. We use the things of this world only as aids toward the other. We eat and drink that we may be nourished for our rightful service. We engage in recreations only in so far as they contribute to our efficiency in God's work. Clothing is to be modest and free from showy and costly ornaments. The Puritan's life is a streamlined existence from which all superfluity is banished, and the frivolous and undisciplined activities of other men are excluded. He knows that at all times he has what Calvin called *negotium cum Deo*—business with God. God, the giver of life and of time, is to be obeyed and worshiped according to his Word. The Puritan has no use for days of celebration other than Sunday, which interrupt his proper work and service. "In the morning," wrote Samuel Sewall, April 1, 1719, "I dehorted Sam Hirst, and Grindal Rawson, from playing Idle Tricks because 'twas first of April; they were the greatest fools that did so. N.E. men came hither to avoid anniversary days, the keeping of them such as the 25th of December. How displeasing it must be to God, the Giver of our Time, to keep anniversary days to play the fool."

If there is one universal principle in Puritanism, I suggest that we call it the principle of "economy." The Puritan loathed waste, both in worship and in daily employments. He was able to claim too that the New Testament was on his side. It knows nothing of the vestments and ornaments authorized in the ornaments rubric of the Prayer Book. It taught men to work, for the night comes when no man can work, and to redeem the time because the days are

evil; and if a woman was approved for impulsively pouring out the precious ointment (in John, ch. 12), the lessons drawn from this by Puritan commentators did not disturb the pattern of teaching. It was for them simply a foreshadowing of Christ's priceless and redemptive sacrifice and a commendable act of devout love, with no general bearing upon economic behavior.

II

It is misleading to say that Puritanism is simply derived from the study of the Scriptures, or of the writings of Calvin or other Reformers. It has a background in older Christianity, and resembles some movements in other faiths. Many Puritans owed a good deal to the Stoics, who repeatedly urged the preciousness of time, with its opportunity for moral self-improvement. The Puritan habit of self-examination at evening, a daily checkup on failures and achievements, was a practice of Pythagoras and of the pupils of Confucius, and a commonplace of Stoic teaching. The Puritans had some of the qualities of the Pharisees in ancient Judaism. The multiple sects of Islam and of Hinduism afford examples of similar simplifications of religion in protest against the accretions of the past. Numerous earlier Christian groups and teachers show approximations to the English Puritan type. There are passages in Clement of Alexandria and in Tertullian that illustrate this. The Iconoclastic Movement in eighth century Byzantium has often been compared to the Puritan protest against images and other "idolatrous" objects in worship. Some of the medieval religious orders and sects have reminded historians, especially George Gordon Coulton, of the later Puritans. Saint Bernard of Clairvaux in his protest against William of Thierry over the superfluous space and showy ornaments in his church, exclaimed: "For God's sake, if men are not ashamed of these follies, why do they not shrink from the expense?" The Cistercians reduced the worship routine to something far less elaborate than that of the Cluniacs, practiced hard physical labor, and accused the Cluniacs of using "material ornaments" in worship, of eating too well and sleeping too long. The great John Gerson of Paris opposed the use

of images and pictures as "perverting simple folk to idolatry." I point to parallels; but Dr. Coulton would discover the very ancestry of Puritanism in medieval piety. He has this to say:

"Puritanism is indeed not of one time but of most times and especially of most religious revivals. Its faults are simply the faults of exaggeration, an exaggerated belief in the value of religious phrases and religious deportment with an exaggerated depreciation of 'the world' in that narrow sense which was of hoary antiquity before the sixteenth century was born. . . . The Puritanism of the Reformation was the strictest and most logical attempt yet made to realize certain thoroughly medieval ideals" ("The High Ancestry of Puritanism," *Contemporary Review*, 1905. Republished in *Medieval Studies*, First Series, IV).

In the nature of the case there is, however, considerable difference between the "Puritanism" of celibates in religious orders and that of men in families engaged in callings of the world. Nor has it ever been made clear that Tudor Puritanism was specifically indebted to monasticism and the friars.

Others have found the ancestry of Puritanism in Anglo-Saxon as distinct from Norman England, and have considered its emergence as the revival of the Anglo-Saxon element in English life. This view may indeed claim support from utterances of some of the lesser sectarians of the Cromwellian period, especially the Levellers. A hundred years ago, it was tentatively put forward by John Stoughton, in the first volume of his *Religion in England* (Revised Edition, London, 1881), page 52:

"It is possible even that peculiarities of race and blood might have somewhat to do with the strong sympathies of the middle and lower classes, in a simple and unostentatious kind of religious worship. The plain and sturdy nature of the Anglo-Saxon was still pure, in a multitude of cases, from Norman admixture, in those ranks of society in which Puritanism most prevailed; and the Anglo-Saxon had ever been unfriendly to the ecclesiastical pomp of architecture and glittering ritual which delighted the Norman. Traditional opinions and sentiments opposed to the spirit of Romanism had been handed down through the Middle Ages from one generation to another of the English commonalty,

in their homesteads and cottages, and probably as those opinions and sentiments had contributed to the outburst of Lollardism and helped on the cause of the Reformation, so also they ministered to the later development of principles proceeding further in the same direction. . . . Puritanism came only as the second stage of a progress of which the Reformation was the first."

The influence of Wyclif on the movement has been variously estimated. In many respects he anticipated the Puritan teachings, especially in his emphasis on the Bible as the guide of life and in his repudiation of the papacy. But Wyclif's followers were severely persecuted, and in the opening of the sixteenth century they consisted almost solely of humble tradesmen. John Strype and many later writers have presented evidence that the surviving Lollard groups were no negligible factor in promoting the spread of Tyn-dale's New Testament, and thus made some contribution to the rise of Protestantism in Henry VIII's reign. It is not clear, however, that they helped in any way to found English Puritanism, or that it felt strongly the inspiration of Wyclif. To say with Dr. Hensley Henson that "the Reformation, so far as it was a popular movement, was a Lollard movement" is, I think, wholly misleading; although we may agree with him that the Lollards, like the Puritans, held the necessity of Scriptural authority for all ecclesiastical arrangements. Richard Hooker was to combat this view against the Puritans of his day as Reginald Pecock, in his celebrated *Treatise Against Overmuch Blaming of the Clergy* (1455), had tried to do against the fifteenth century Lollards. Cranmer may have had the Lollard view of Scripture primarily in mind when he met the plea of John Hooper that kneeling be not required in the sacrament, with the statement:

"That what is not commanded in the Scripture is not lawful, is the root of the errors of the sects. . . . Kneeling is not enjoined in Scripture, neither is standing or sitting. Let them lie on the ground and eat their meat like Turks or Tartars."

Thomas Cuming Hall has argued for a clear distinction between Puritanism, which derived from Continental sources, and Dissent,

which emerged early in medieval England, and was then chiefly expressed in Wyclifism. Dissent takes the Bible alone as authoritative. Every believing soul is aided by the indwelling Spirit in reading the Bible. The sacraments are for Dissent only pious symbols. On the other hand, in Puritanism, under Continental influence, churchly ideas are adhered to; the letter of Scripture is less important; sacraments and creeds are emphasized. The antiaesthetic element in Anglo-American religion comes from Dissent and not from Puritanism. Partly from poverty, more from the hatred of the expensive amusements of an oppressive landowning class, Dissent denounced the theater as sinful. In Dr. Hall's judgment, this nonecclesiastical or antiecclesiastical religion has never embraced less than one third of the English people.

To my mind, interpretations that derive Puritanism from the Anglo-Saxon element in England, as well as that which tries to separate it wholly from something called Dissent, are alike tendentious and unreliable. The argument from race would require evidence, far beyond that which is offered to us, of the continued separation of Saxon and Norman in England. The historian G. V. Lechler, in his valuable but now antiquated study *John Wycliff and His English Precursors*, took the view that Wyclif himself came from a district and a family that had remained pure Germans from the time of the Anglo-Saxon invasions. Actually he knew far too little about Wyclif's ancestors to justify this opinion. The most that we can say on the Saxon-anti-Norman origin of Puritanism is that Puritanism was associated with the rise of the middle class and the decline of the nobility, and that certain leftist elements in it applied the word "Norman" to the nobility as a term of abuse.

III

With respect to the connection of Puritanism with Continental Protestantism we are, however, on surer ground. The influence here was not wholly from the Reformed side, but also in part from the Lutheran side, of the Reformation. Readers of Luther will find the word "idolatry" frequently used with regard to many features of

the late medieval church services. In 1522, Luther remarked, at the beginning of the fourth of his eight Wittenberg sermons:

“Images ought to be abolished if they are going to be worshiped. I wish they were abolished everywhere because they are abused.”

He thought it would be better to give a poor man a gold piece than to give God a golden image. Yet in practice Luther retained very much that was medieval in worship, believing that what the Scripture did not condemn might still be kept in use. The Reformed leaders, on the other hand, tended to make the Scripture a negative rule, and to exclude from worship whatever was not enjoined or exemplified in Holy Writ. Many Puritans applied this principle with greater strictness than appears in the worship of the Continental Reformed churches.

Martin Bucer, the Reformer of Strasbourg, though one of Luther's early converts, showed affinities with the Reformed. His temper was distinctly puritanic, and his influence in England where he spent his last two years as an exile (1549–1551) was a formative factor in early Puritanism. In his *Censura*, or comments made on Cranmer's First Prayer Book, he held that the vestments authorized in it, though not sinful, are not desirable. He opposes kneeling at the sign of the cross and the use of prayers for the dead, and he wishes to see the altar replaced by a table. In other writings, notably his *De regno Christi*, he advocates a disciplined way of life quite congenial to Puritans. The emphasis he gives to the local congregation in his view of the Church brings him somewhat into line with the later Independents. August Lang has strongly argued the case for Bucer's Puritan influence upon John Bradford and others of his pupils, and regards him as a forerunner, if not a direct inspirer, of William Perkins, the Cambridge Puritan theologian.

Still nearer in some respects to the Puritans was John à Lasco (Jan Laski), the Polish reformer who was in England most of the time from 1548 to 1553. Placed in charge of a church of refugees in London, à Lasco elected not to use the Anglican liturgy in his services, and supported John Hooper in his opposition to the vestments. His introduction of “the prophecies” (group conferences of minis-

ters and laymen for study and discussion) should be remembered in connection with the Puritan "propheesyings" of the early period of Elizabeth. It became necessary for Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, to send word to Bishop John Parkhurst of Norwich "that the Queen's Majesty wills me to suppress those vain propheesyings." Parker's successor, Edmund Grindal, was deprived of his jurisdiction for his refusal to act likewise (1577). À Lasco, who was in substantial agreement with Zwingli, introduced in his church simple and untraditional procedures, enjoying Cranmer's full consent for this since no Englishmen were involved. He set up a Reformed Church discipline under elders, publicly installed all officers of the church, and in fact furnished a Puritan model of an Independent congregation.

The Reformation in Zurich under Zwingli's leadership was marked by the stripping of the worship forms to a bare minimum. In a kind of Puritan crusade, Zwingli had crucifixes, relics, pictures, altars, and candles removed from the churches. The venerated bones of saints were decently buried. The use of gold and silver ornaments and jewelry, and of expensive clothing, was prohibited, as were also gambling and carousing. The influence of Zwingli's great successor, Heinrich Bullinger, on the rise of English Puritanism would be hard to overstate. His hospitality to the exiles of Mary's reign who came to Zurich, his correspondence with these afterward, and the translation and authorized use in the Church of England of Bullinger's *Decades* (fifty sermons in translation, arranged in groups of ten), make it no exaggeration to say that he was the greatest Continental ally of Tudor Puritanism.

It was Calvin, however, whom the Puritans held in highest esteem as a theologian. Not only his *Institutes* but also many of his sermons and other writings were translated into English soon after their appearance. It is true that Anglican opponents of Puritanism sometimes quoted Calvin to refute Puritan opinions. Nevertheless in his thought and practice Calvin gave great encouragement to the main principles of Puritanism. The Arminian revision of Calvinism was resisted by many Puritans, and adopted by a few of them only when it was already widely espoused in Anglicanism. The outlines

of the theocratic organization of Geneva under Calvin's direction were well known in England. "The Laws of Geneva" were translated into English by Robert Fells (1560). Calvin's Puritanism was less extreme than that of Zwingli, who, although himself a talented musician, ruthlessly suppressed even singing in the Church for the reason that in previous decades it had become extremely unedifying. Calvin promoted singing and appropriated this art to church use. He employed a liturgy that represented an extreme simplification of the Roman Mass. But he was emphatically negative on many medieval practices that remained in Lutheranism and in the Church of England. In 1550, he wrote to Melancthon to protest against that Reformer's admission of some features of Charles V's *Interim*, by which candles, pictures, and other elements of medieval ritual were approved.

Here we have the same question that troubled the conscience of Thomas Sampson. It was the question of the adiaphora, the things nonessential or indifferent. "You extend the distinction of non-essentials too far," says Calvin in this letter, and he cites Paul's attitude to the Judaizers—"to whom we gave place . . . no, not for an hour" (Gal. 2:5). Calvin's correspondence with Bucer, Cranmer, and the Duke of Somerset indicates, I think we may say, that he was prepared to give place "for an hour" to the ritual elements in the Prayer Book which the Puritans criticized, but that he had no thought of authorizing permanent acquiescence in these. When he was consulted by the Marian exiles in Frankfort with regard to the Second Prayer Book, of which he had received a hastily made Latin translation, he wrote back to William Whittingham, January 31, 1555: "In the Anglican liturgy, as you described it to me, I see many tolerable stupidities (*tolerabiles ineptias*)"; he recommends that they "be endured for a time." He does not understand those who hanker after the "dregs of papistry," but he urges Whittingham's group to avoid wrangling. To take a peaceable and moderate course, while persistently seeking reform, was generally Calvin's prescription for his friends in trouble of conscience over forms of worship. When in January, 1561, he learned of iconoclastic riots in which churches had been invaded and relics destroyed by his

Huguenot followers in France, he wrote to restrain them: "God has never enjoined anyone to destroy idols, unless in his own house, or unless he is in authority in public."

It is easy to discover elements of Puritanism in the reign of Edward VI, and even in that of Henry VIII, but it was in the reign of Mary that it began to be clearly differentiated from other elements in the English religious scene, chiefly in the experiences of those who left the kingdom in fear of persecution. It was not, as has been argued without any weight of evidence by Christina Garrett, because they plotted revolution that the Marian exiles went abroad; nor was that the reason why so many Protestants who remained in England were burned to death. With a certain prudence, the exiles fled for their lives. At Frankfort the English congregation was divided into critics and partisans of the Second Prayer Book of Edward. The critics were Puritans and Knox was one of their chief leaders. He and his group had to take flight elsewhere, and he went to lead the refugee colony in Geneva. Many were in Zurich, feeding physically as well as spiritually at the tables of Bullinger and his associates. Hearing of the persecution at home, studying and writing and stimulating each other, the Puritan exiles became more Puritan. When Mary died, their return was dreaded by those who had acquiesced in her policies. Bishop John White at her funeral was apprehensive: "I warn you that the wolves be coming out of Geneva and other places in Germany, and have sent their books before them."

It was not long until they were active and prominent in the Church. Some who had more than a dash of Puritanism in their spirits became bishops. But the truly convinced and immovable ones boggled at the "Romish rags," or the episcopal jurisdiction, or something else that they held to be non-Scriptural in the Prayer Book or the polity of the Church. They had fled in fear of Mary, and Mary's persecutions fixed in the Puritan mind a peculiar loathing of Roman Catholicism. This extended to everything in worship, and the ornaments of worship that reminded them of "the grim wolf" and "the Babylonian woe." Many Anglicans were not less hostile to the papacy, without sharing the alerted fear of Rome

characteristic of the Puritans. Whitgift's chaplain, William Barlow, described a Puritan as "a Protestant frayed out of his wittes."

A rough identification with Calvinism was made by the early hostile observers of Puritanism. This is interestingly stated by De Silva, the ambassador of Philip II of Spain, in 1568:

"Those who call themselves of the *religio purissima* go on increasing. They are the same as Calvinists and they are styled Puritans because they allow no ceremonies nor any forms save those which are authorized by the bare letter of the Gospels."

Thomas Fuller and John Heylin have dated the beginning of the use of the nickname "Puritan" about the year 1564, while Marshall M. Knappen gives the winter of 1567-1568 as the time of its origin. It gradually replaced the word "precisian," the term employed in the letters of Archbishop Parker. Englishmen soon had less reason to regard the Puritans as "the same as Calvinists." The Puritan Robert Brown had a different conception of the Church from that of Calvin, and, on the other hand, Archbishop John Whitgift out-Calvined Calvin in his statement of the doctrine of the Decrees of God (1595), yet engaged in a controversy with the Puritan Thomas Cartwright. Whitgift's theological opponents may have sometimes called him a Puritan, but this was the language of abuse, and the abuse of language. On the other hand, John Hooper, whose stand against Cranmer in Edward's reign and whose conception of Church reform mark him as a Puritan, was vastly more indebted to Bullinger than he was to Calvin. When Hooper was in prison, Calvin wrote to Bullinger, March 25, 1551, "I had rather he had not carried his opposition so far with regard to the cap and linen vestment, even though I do not approve of these." So while Calvin's conception of the adiaphora was stricter than that of Melanchthon, some of the Puritans were too strict for him.

IV

The Puritan's problems were moral rather than theological. His theology was not subtle or involved. The law of God, the grace of God, and man's response to these were primary, and they were dis-

coverable in Holy Scripture. English Puritanism produced no great or original theologians. It rather assumed that the tasks of theology had been done, and turned to the application of the doctrines of the Reformation. The Puritan was not inclined to elaborate doctrinal points, though he was exacting in his demands for piety. Dr. Knappen quotes from the works of Richard Greenham, a Cambridge Elizabethan Puritan, this simple formulation:

“They that willingly hear and joyfully embrace the doctrine that we are by law condemned for sin, by the gospel saved through faith in Christ, and thenceforth endeavor to have this world crucified unto us, and us to be crucified unto the world, and to become new creatures, shall also be saved and find mercy and peace.”

Puritan preachers might extend the number of headings in their sermons, but the topics they were genuinely concerned with in their theology were few. God is to them an ever-present reality. They may doubt their own salvation, but they do not doubt the fact of God, and his manifestation not only in Scripture but in conscience and experience. God is not to be trifled with. Our sins condemn us, and we are hopeless without repentance and forgiveness.

Noteworthy is Greenham's phrase “to become new creatures.” Puritans wrote a great deal on the subject of conversion. In this they anticipated the Pietists and the Evangelicals. Conversion for them is a fundamental transformation of life in attitude and purpose. Baxter, in his *Call to the Unconverted* (1657), is careful to distinguish it from merely “taking up some new opinion and falling into some dividing party,” or making vain resolutions of amendment.

“It is not a small matter to bring an earthly mind to heaven, to show man the amiable excellence of God till he be taken up in such love to him that can never be quenched; to break the heart for sin, to make him fly for refuge to Christ.”

The call to repentance, Baxter writes, is conveyed “in every leaf of the blessed book of God,” in every sermon, every motion of the spirit, in the voice of conscience, in the examples of the godly, and in the works of God in nature. It is all reasonable, for God is the God of truth and reason.

"A man is never well in his wits till he be converted . . . nor knows the world, nor himself, nor what his business is on earth, so as to set himself about it, till he be converted."

Some Puritans referred feelingly to the anguish of the soul under the realization of divine wrath before deliverance comes. Perkins describes the symptoms:

"A change and alteration of the body as it were a burning agew — and it causes the entrails to rise, the liver to rowle in the body and it sets a great heat in the bones and consumes the flesh more than any sickness can do."

Young John Bunyan, while engaged in a game of tipcat on a Sunday, was arrested by a voice from heaven that said: "Wilt thou leave thy sins and go to heaven or have thy sins and go to hell?" This put him in "an exceeding maze."

"I looked up to heaven and was as if I had, with the eyes of my understanding, seen the Lord Jesus looking down upon me, and being very hotly displeased with me, and as if he did severely threaten me with some grievous punishment for these and my other ungodly practices."

But when it was clear that his sins were forgiven, Bunyan was like his own Pilgrim, whose burden of sin rolled away at the foot of the cross: "Then Christian gave three leaps for joy, and went on singing." The Puritan may have had his moods of depression, but ordinarily he took these as a part of his education in godliness and looked for a break in the clouds. God in his wrath would remember mercy.

The doctrine of the two covenants — of works and of grace — was characteristic of Puritan theology. Elements of the Covenant (or Federal) Theology appear in numerous sixteenth century Continental Reformed writers, such as Heinrich Bullinger and Caspar Olevianus. The Scottish national covenants were apparently associated with the development of this doctrine, and the first principal of Edinburgh University, Robert Rollock, wrote an early treatise on the subject, *De foedere Dei et de sacramentis* (1596). William Perkins in *The Golden Chain* (Latin, 1590; English, 1591), John Pres-

ton in *The New Covenant* (1629), and William Ames in *The Marrow of Sacred Divinity* (Latin, 1629; English, 1642) were among the Puritan predecessors of John Cocceius, whose *De foedere* (1648) is usually regarded as the most important treatise in this field. Later Puritans, such as John Owen and Richard Baxter in various works, and William Strong in *Discourse of the Two Covenants* (1678), maintained the ascendancy of the doctrine through the seventeenth century. These writers, with Jonathan Edwards after them, exhibit considerable variation in detail in their expositions of the covenants. Regardless of this diversity, the doctrine served the purpose of checking the tendency in Calvinism to ascribe to God an arbitrary and unpredictable role in salvation. In the Covenant Theology, God has assumed obligations to the believer.

"Man's chief end is to glorify God, and to enjoy him forever." God is not only to be worshiped and obeyed but to be enjoyed, now and hereafter. The awareness of God's presence is what gives meaning and zest to life. Amid the distresses of the Restoration, Baxter wrote:

"If I had not a God to know and think on, to love and honour, to seek and serve, what had I to do with my understanding, will, and all my powers? What should I do with life and time? . . . What could I find to do in the world that is worthy of a man?" (*The Mischief of Self-ignorance*, p. 111. London, 1662).

John Howe, another of the ejected Puritans of 1662, wrote a *Treatise of Delighting in God*; and Matthew Henry, the commentator read by our grandfathers, found the law of the Lord his delight. In *The Pleasantness of the Religious Life* he re-echoes the Puritan warnings against seeking joy in artificial and time-wasting amusements, and affirms that the pleasures of religion are solid and substantial and not painted on; they are gold and not gilded over; they are enduring. By true religion a man has the delight of being master of his own thoughts, he lives in kindly relationships with others, and in communion with God, who "speaks freely to us as a man to his friend." Prayer and psalm-singing are sources of gladness and "the Lord's day a pleasant day of holy rest and holy joy." I do not find in

the Puritans that "lack of Christian joy in the sense of the Letter to the Philippians" which is alleged of them by Joseph Chambon (*Der Puritanismus*, p. 279). Perhaps gladness was not their habitual mood. But the notion that they were purveyors of a sad religion is what may be called in seventeenth century language a "vulgar error." Men who believe that the everlasting God is their refuge and that no crisis can place them beyond the range of his help are not habitually sad. Thomas Becon, in *The Jewel of Joy*, exclaimed: "O the unoutspeakable goodness of God toward men"; and Thomas Adams in a sermon has the immortal sentence, most true to Puritan experience, "Man's extremity is God's opportunity."

A pessimist, we are told, is a man who has been in conversation with an optimist. We have all heard pulpit discourses on joy in the religious life that were not entirely convincing. Perhaps many Puritan preachers, in common with others, adopted that rhythmical utterance that we call the holy whine, and failed to make real to their hearers that joy in God which is frequently expressed in their writings.

The Puritan's religion was of the kind described by John Wesley as "Scriptural holiness." Holiness is a favorite word in the Puritan vocabulary, but more often the term used for piety is "godliness." John Owen has a treatise on *The Sanctification of Believers* in which the Puritan notion of a holy or godly life can be readily discovered. Owen does not, as some Puritans did, present a routine of daily devotions. He defines holiness as "a spiritual habit," not a series of outward acts. It is a principle of spiritual life and grace infused into our souls, constantly abiding there, and the cause of all acts of holiness. He appears to feel that the devout may attain to a perpetual state of holiness: "This abideth in us and in all that are sanctified, whence they are always holy." He does not assert, however, that this abiding state of holiness is one of sinlessness.

V

The Puritan combined this exalted quest with the various activities of secular life. The vocation by which he earned his daily bread

was never thought of as outside the province of religion, or to be detached or exempted from the requirements of religion. When Matthew Henry was twenty-four years old, he set down, as did many other Puritans in youth, a series of vows which he solemnly undertook to fulfill. The most comprehensive of these self-imposed obligations reads: "I do likewise devote and dedicate unto the Lord my whole self, all I am, all I have, and all I can do." The things that Matthew Henry could do included the writing of the most celebrated of Puritan commentaries on the Scriptures. Philip Doddridge said that Henry was the only commentator who deserved to be read entirely through. It is characteristic that when Matthew Henry writes about the obligation of Adam to dress and keep the Garden of Eden, he takes occasion to remark:

"Secular employments will very well consist with a state of innocence and a life of communion with God. The sons and heirs of heaven while they are here in the world have something to do about this earth which must have its share of their time and thoughts; and if they do it with an eye to God, they are as truly serving him in it as when they are upon their knees."

This doctrine was no discovery of the Puritans. There are similar expressions in some of the medieval mystics, in Luther and the other Reformers, and in the discourses of Saint Theresa of Avila. But the Puritans sensed with peculiar keenness the close relationship between religious experience and common, everyday duties. This fact is the more significant for history because they lived in an era of economic expansion and change, and of political revolution. They knew that they had "something to do about this earth," and they brought the power of religious conviction into the momentous struggles of the age.

We have seen a modern tendency to look upon the Puritans as historically important mainly for their political and economic attitudes. If Cartwright, or Perkins, or Bunyan, or Baxter could see what secular historians have written about them, they would be greatly surprised. Now, much of this type of historical work has its own validity. Puritanism has had important bearings upon the evo-

lution of modern secular life. It is one thing to recognize this outcome of what the Puritans thought; it is quite another thing to assume that they used religion as a means to political or economic ends. Their primary motives and interests lay in the religious realm. "In doing good," says Baxter, "prefer the souls of men before the body" unless the man is drowning or famishing (*The Christian Directory*, Part I, ch. iii). "Be not so diligent in thy particular calling that thou neglect the duties of thy general calling as a Christian," says Thomas Gouge (*The Christian Direction*, "How to Walk with God All the Day Long," ch. xii).

Deeply convinced of the sovereignty of God over all human affairs, Puritans were inclined to call in question the sovereignty of kings. The Geneva Bible, with which they were familiar, is furnished with marginal notes, many of which call to special attention the Scriptural instances of wicked, indulgent, and misguided kings. Or, if they read, for example, the prophecy of Daniel, and turned to Calvin's commentary on this book for an interpretation of the character of Darius, they would find this sweeping judgment:

"If anyone could enter into the hearts of kings, he would find scarcely one in a hundred who does not despise everything divine. Although they confess themselves to enjoy their throne by the grace of God, as we have previously remarked, yet they wish to be adored in his stead. We now see how easily flatterers persuade kings to do whatever seems likely to extol their magnificence."

Calvin wished to see kings restrained by the activity of magistrates who were defenders of the liberties of the people. Similarly, the Puritans, in general, turned for relief from royal policies to the activities of Parliament. Tudor Parliaments had been rather easily persuaded to act in accordance with the royal will; yet the institution of Parliament remained intact and had possibilities for another course of action. During the reign of Elizabeth I we have numerous efforts to bring about a reform of the Church in accordance with Puritan ideals by action of Parliament. No less than six bills were introduced into Parliament in 1566, setting forth proposals for alterations in worship and reform of abuses connected with Church ben-

efices. Of the parliamentary spokesmen of Puritanism the most aggressive were Walter Strickland and Peter Wentworth. Frequently they clashed with the royal policy. In a speech in the opening session of the Parliament of 1576, Wentworth boldly affirmed the rights of the House against the royal pressure:

"I find written in a little volume . . . 'Sweet is the name of liberty, but the thing itself . . . beyond all inestimable treasure.'"

Free speech, he charges, has been infringed:

"Without this it is a scorn and mockery to call it a parliament house, for in truth it is none, but is a very school of flattery and dissimulation."

When reforms in religion are proposed in Parliament, a whisper is circulated, "The queen liketh not of it," or messages of disapproval come to the House, "greatly to Her Majesty's dishonour." He regards the messages as emanating from the bishops. Quoting thirteenth century Bracton's *De legibus Angliae*, he states that the king ought to be under the law.

"It is a great part of our duty to maintain the freedom of consultation and speech. . . . It is better that one should be hanged than that this noble state should be subverted."

Wentworth was asserting parliamentary authority in religion over that of the bishops, and complete freedom of utterance for criticisms of the Elizabethan settlement on the floor of Parliament. For this he was sent to the Tower for a month. It was but an incident in the long-continued effort on the part of the Presbyterian party and their political supporters to alter the whole structure of the Church, by political enactment. If we read closely the story of the parliaments of Elizabeth, we find less surprising the alliance of Puritanism with parliamentary resistance to the king under the Stuarts.

Elizabeth managed her Parliament with a certain adroitness and was not too insistent on explicit acknowledgment of royal authority. King James I, however, had imbibed the notion of divine-right absolute monarchy, and proceeded to instruct his subjects in this high

doctrine. He told the Parliament of 1610 that "in the Scriptures kings are called gods so that their power after a certain relation is compared to divine power," and drew the conclusion that:

"As to dispute what God may do is blasphemy . . . so is it sedition in subjects to dispute what a king may do in the height of his power. . . . I would wish you to be careful that you do not meddle with the main points of government. That is my craft."

James's frank and astonishing mystical reverence for himself as a king was shared by numerous Anglican divines. But an alliance was established between the Puritans and the Parliament in opposition to the royal claim, and by 1621 we have a crisis in which James complains that the Commons are beginning to debate publicly of things too high for them, to the dishonor of the royal prerogative. The Commons asserted its own "liberties, privileges, and jurisdictions" as "the ancient and undoubted first right and inheritance of the subjects of England." This protestation of December, 1621, was followed by the Petition of Right, presented to King Charles I in April, 1628. The arbitrary government of Charles and the severe punishment inflicted upon his opponents in Church and State rendered firm the opposition to monarchical absolutism, and in the 1640's monarchy and episcopacy tumbled down together.

VI

How far would Puritanism go in its rejection of divine-right absolutism? The test came in 1648-1649. The Presbyterians in Parliament wished to bring the king to terms, and effect a limited monarchy. It was only when Cromwell sent Colonel Pride to exclude from Parliament the members of the Presbyterian party that those measures could be authorized in it which resulted in the execution of the king (January 29, 1649). Although Cromwell's conduct in all this was both ungenerous and imprudent, perhaps it was his exaggerated sense of mission that carried him beyond the course of reason. He did not realize that in Pride's Purge he was dividing the forces of political Puritanism, or that he was entering on a fatal series of ex-

periments in arbitrary government that must lead to the ruin of the Puritan cause.

Broadly speaking, it was the Presbyterian conception of government rather than that of Cromwell that triumphed forty years later in the Bill of Rights, by which Parliament, "vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties," abolished "the pretended power of suspending laws by regal authority," and finally set the pattern of limited monarchy for England. Meanwhile, Anglicanism had been restored and Puritanism rejected. There would have been no Great Revolution of 1688-1689 on the surviving strength of Puritan political doctrine alone. The Stuarts could always be counted upon to blunder fatally, and it was because James II attempted to bring England once more into the orbit of the papacy that he was rejected by the bishops and the people. Nevertheless, the fact that the Puritans were consistently opposed to the high pretensions of kings helped materially to confirm England in its natural course toward the establishment of limited monarchy.

Some whom we class as Puritans not only assailed monarchy but sought to abolish the old class structure. Certain groups like the Levellers felt a particular grievance against the nobility and the privileged classes. It was these folk who liked to denounce the "Normans," and the nobility as their successors. Some groups and individuals made a point of vilifying the universities and all their alumni. On July 18, 1573, Archbishop Parker wrote to Lord Burleigh,

"Surely if this fond faction be applauded to or borne with, it will fall out to a popularity and, as wise men think, it will be the overthrow of all the nobility."

John Strype, quoting this in his *Life of Matthew Parker*, explains that by "popularity" Parker meant "a parity and equality in the State as well as in the Church." Parker was seeking to arouse Burleigh against the Puritans by pointing to the possibility of danger to Burleigh's class as well as to his own. But with regard to the traditional stratification of society, many of the Puritans were conservative enough. One may support a system of stratification on a func-

tional argument, without implying a moral subordination and without denying rights to the "lower" orders of society. Though William Perkins was a warm supporter of the monarchy as it was under Elizabeth, he was intensely concerned for the well-being of all classes of subjects and their happy functioning in their callings, each in his station and degree. Cromwell himself deplored the agitation of the Levellers and desired that the traditional social classes be maintained. The Levellers, in turn, in their tracts referred to Cromwell's as "the old tyrannical Norman government." (See W. Schenk, *The Concern for Social Justice in the Puritan Revolution*, pp. 28 ff., 67 f. London and New York, 1948.)

Thus the Puritans (taking the word in its broad sense) offer a variety of political and social judgments, even though they carefully support them all by reference to the Bible. It is always a mistake to assume that the Puritan is a man of one book. He may have continually protested that he was deriving his ideas from the Bible, while he was also, consciously or unconsciously, reflecting much that he had read in classical or modern writers; sometimes he exhibits too a familiar knowledge of medieval scholastic treatments of political and economic themes.

VII

The Puritan conception of economic duty has been the subject of much discussion and inquiry since Max Weber's study of *Protestantism and the Spirit of Capitalism*, which first appeared in 1904-1905. Weber's suggestions of the intimate relation of Calvinism and capitalism in history were actually put forth far more cautiously than many people now suppose. Yet he confused the issue somewhat by the assumptions that Puritanism is identical with Calvinism and that Benjamin Franklin offers a suitable sample of Puritan ethics. Many have written to modify or controvert the thesis of Weber; and yet, so far as the Puritans are concerned, the whole subject of economic ethics requires fuller examination than has been given to it. The strength of Puritanism lay in the rising middle class, who were naturally hospitable to its teaching on thrift and industry. But those

who habitually heard Puritan sermons would not fail to have their consciences aroused, or, at any rate, prodded, on the obligation to serve, rather than the opportunity for gain, in the business life. For the Puritan, no special virtue lay in poverty itself; but great dangers lay in riches, in both getting and spending, and in the possession of what they called "abundance" as distinct from a necessary sustenance. Perkins, in his *Cases of Conscience*, states that it is a sin to seek abundance; it is a hazard to salvation, and one of its fruits is "diffidence," or a lack of faith in the power of God. On the topic of the calling, Perkins offers a comment which I think would be subscribed to by practically all those whom we include under the general name of Puritan. It is as follows:

"The end of a man's calling is not to gather riches for himself or his family or the poor, but to serve God in serving of man, and in seeking the good of all men; and to this end men must apply their lives and labors."

Here in a nutshell is the Puritan creed for economic life. This conception excluded all waste of goods, of time, and of energy. "Six days shalt thou labor" was quite as important as the other part of that Commandment. Yet there was no hesitancy over, or casuistical modification of, the Sabbath rest required in that other part. Calvin had warned against a "Jewish rigor" in the regulation of Sunday, but most Puritans were rigorous on this point of the law. It has been shown that in earlier centuries pious Englishmen and Scots (Irish evidence might also be adduced) were often greatly concerned over the sanctity of the day of rest. Gainful work was excluded, and with it recreation. It was not only the Puritans, of course, who were displeased by James I's *Book of Sports* (1618), prescribing Sunday afternoon physical training, but they were especially offended.

It ought to be remembered that while they denounced and shunned Sunday recreation, they had no inclination to banish all recreation. In fact, they gave to it a noteworthy place in their teachings. They wrote about recreation with the gravity of a modern sociologist, from their own religious point of view, carefully distinguishing health-giving exercises and relaxations from time-wasting, energy-consum-

ing, purposeless amusements; and with these excluding violent games and brutal sports. Macaulay's oft-repeated quip, "The Puritans hated bearbaiting not because it gave pain to the bear but because it gave pleasure to the spectators," completely evades the truth of the matter, which Puritan writers treat very differently. They loathed the inhumanity of bearbaiting and other sports involving cruelty, and were unhappy because men sank so low as to find pleasure in occasioning pain to God's creatures.

"What Christian heart [wrote Philip Stubbes] can take pleasure to see one poor beast to rend, tear, and kill another, and all for his foolish pleasure? And although they be bloody beasts to mankind and seek his destruction, yet we are not to abuse them, for His sake who made them and whose creatures they are."

Recreation, for the Puritan, like all other activities, is subordinated to life's main objectives. We should play when necessary in order to work more effectively in the service of God and man.

Nor is a man's success in gaining wealth the measure of God's favor: it may be the measure of his own villainy. Says Thomas Adams in his sermon on "God's Bounty" (Prov. 3:16):

"For us, beloved, we teach you not to cast away the bag, but covetousness. We bid you use the world, but enjoy the Lord. . . . It is easy for a man to be rich who will make his conscience poor. He that will defraud, forswear, bribe, oppress, serve the time, use, abuse, all men, all things, swallow any wickedness, cannot escape riches. . . . Wealth comes not easily, not quickly to the honest doer. . . . Of riches let us never desire more than an honest man may well bear away. I had rather be a miserable saint than a prosperous sinner."

It is true that wealth is also the God-given fruit of industry. Yet it cannot be said to be the end for which we work. The end is the good we may achieve by the work itself and by the beneficent use of the wealth it produces. The Puritan preacher was, in fact, fond of warning the rich of their responsibilities, and often ingenious in devising philanthropic projects by which they might helpfully part with their possessions.

Baxter, in his great work on casuistry, *The Christian Directory*,

treats the economic duties in great detail. He refuses to say that all love of riches is sin, since riches may enable us to relieve our needy brethren and to promote good works for Church and State. But it is sinful to seek riches merely to feed the flesh and satisfy its desires, or to gratify our pride. Amid a great deal of specific direction of this sort, he condemns desiring more than is needful or useful, and being more careful to provide a worldly than a heavenly portion for children and friends (Part I, ch. iv). In an ample discussion of "the redeeming of time," Baxter remarks:

"Time must be redeemed from worldly business and commodity when matters of greater weight do require it, trades and profit must stand by when God calls us by necessity or otherwise to greater things. Martha should not so much as trouble herself in providing meat for Christ and his followers to eat when Christ is offering her food for her soul, and she should with Mary have been adoring at his feet" (Part I, ch. v, in *Practical Works*, I, 231).

We often find devotional writers (this is exemplified in a good many medieval mystics) venturing to take the side of Martha against Mary, and we might have expected as much at least from the Puritan, who is alleged to be an activist. Joseph Chambon has referred to "the undue prominence of the Martha type" in Puritanism (*Der Puritanismus*, p. 279). Yet Richard Baxter, who so often appealed for active goodness, specifically judges Martha guilty of forsaking her true duty. Perhaps Meister Eckhart and Saint Theresa held a brief for Martha mainly because their immediate hearers were by habit favorers of Mary, while Baxter well knew that Martha's role was the preference of a great many to whom he appealed. Yet it is fair to cite this passage in evidence of one broad and universal fact with regard to the Puritan leaders. When treating of secular things, they do not compromise with the spirit of secularity. Religious devotion comes first; it limits and governs secular actions.

Of course, the Puritan, who was blessed in his basket and his store, and who proved the truth of the saying that the hand of the diligent makes rich, faced the base temptation to become a loafer. Let me permit myself one more quotation from Baxter:

"Will not riches excuse one from laboring in a calling? No, but rather bind them to it the more, for he that hath most wages from God should do him most work" (*Practical Works*, I, 375).

The Puritan does not retire on his accumulated fortune into a life of shameful ease.

"The Intellectual Failure of Puritanism" is the title of a chapter in H. Hensley Henson's *Puritanism in England* (1912). Since this book was written, our respect for Puritan learning has been vastly augmented by the weighty researches of numerous specialists. But learning is not the measure of intellectual greatness; and it is doubtful if the Puritans possessed an intellectual power comparable to their learning. It is true that Bunyan and Milton were the greatest literary geniuses of their time, and in their own crafts have not been surpassed in other times, but these two excepted, the Puritans were not rich in genius. In general, the Puritan intelligence exercised itself in controversies or in sermons, or writings of a homiletical type, and these contain very few literary gems. Thomas Adams has been called the Puritan Shakespeare; but he wrote no plays, and if he had written any, they would have been in one respect more like those of Ben Jonson than like those of Shakespeare. He cared more than Shakespeare did for mere learning. His sermons are sprinkled with fragments of the classics and odd scraps of book knowledge, while, like other Puritans, he does not fail to search the heart and probe the conscience. For a truly eminent Puritan theologian we must turn to Jonathan Edwards in eighteenth century New England.

VIII

Many of their contemporaries saw in the Puritans a certain sanctimoniousness and unreality of piety, if not out-and-out hypocrisy and false pretense. The *Discourse Concerning Puritans* quoted earlier complains that the Bishop of Down and Connor had described them as

"wringing their necks awry, lifting up the white of their eyes at the sight of some vanity, giving great groans, crying out against this sin and that sin in their superiors."

Samuel Butler's witty doggerel poem "Hudibras" did much to popularize the view that Puritans were hypocrites, and perhaps still helps to maintain it. Butler, a Roman Catholic in sympathy, had seen the late Cromwellian Puritanism, when the success of the movement had probably attracted to it many pretenders who mouthed the Puritan phrases. There is a fringe of pretense around every sincere movement. But to regard all Puritans as religious pretenders would be a judgment too absurd for discussion.

A more common charge against them nowadays is that they had no regard for the beautiful and were hostile to art. Sidney Dark (in *The Passing of Puritanism*, London, 1940) puts this strongly: "But to the Puritan the beauty of holiness would have seemed a blasphemous suggestion. Beauty was the invention of the devil." This charge is an invention of the class of interpreters to which Mr. Dark belongs. Actually the beauty of holiness was something like a favorite theme of Puritan hortative writers. But, as Joseph Crouch earlier pointed out in his *Puritanism and Art*, their conception of the beauty of holiness differed from that of Archbishop Laud, for whom the phrase referred to the external ornaments of the church. Crouch quotes an unnamed and unpleasant writer who illustrates the point by a reference to the sufferings of William Prynne:

"Prynne with his ears twice sawed from his head was excusable in not quite appreciating the music of the spheres. . . . Such things rather impeded the popular appreciation of Laud's upholstery of holiness."

It is not unlikely that the psalmist who wrote, "O worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness," had indeed in mind the fair and clean garments becoming to those present in the solemn assembly. I am not here concerned with the beauty or holiness of the vestments favored by Laud, nor would I suggest any necessary relation between High-Church attitudes on these matters and the punishment of unacceptable authors by the removal of their ears. But I believe that typical Puritans cared for both beauty and holiness, and particularly insisted that the two should be kept together.

As one would expect, the Puritan's conception of beauty was one that stemmed from his religion, from his awareness of God, of the

awful beauty of creation, and of the orderly functioning of God's works. The enjoyment of a beautiful thing in a secular frame of mind is sin; and sin is not beautiful! It is ugly and loathsome, and a violation of the divinely ordained sweet correspondence of things.

The Puritans had indeed their artistic interests and their canons of art. Many of their houses displayed tastefully selected pictures, statuary, and tapestries. Lucy Hutchinson describes her husband, Colonel John Hutchinson, one of the Regicides, who died in prison in 1664, as expert in knowledge of painting, sculpture, and all the liberal arts. Cromwell was extremely fond of music, and an admirer of Titian's pictures. Inigo Jones was employed by Archbishop Laud to deface the Gothic of old St. Paul's by a Grecian portico with Corinthian pillars; he was employed in the Commonwealth period to do matchless interiors for the Earl of Pembroke at Wilton. What the Puritans attacked was the art objects in churches which they supposed to be occasions of idolatry and superstition. In 1643, Parliament required the removal of altars, pictures of Persons of the Trinity, of the Virgin Mary and of saints, and superstitious inscriptions. Figures of dead persons not taken for saints were to remain. In all this the Puritans should have been more discriminating. Yet it is the fact of the matter that they were not either Philistines or crude iconoclasts. They believed that a picture of God was dishonoring to God, and they acted on this belief.

The costumes of the Puritans are an index to their conception of art. While inventories show that some of them had rich wardrobes, generally in contrast to the curled locks and colorful apparel of the Cavaliers, they dressed plainly. But the typical Puritan garb is certainly not ugly. It has the beauty of functional fitness and economy. Artistically the Puritan doublet and hose had great advantages over the prevailing modern suit of clothes, which, however, is similarly monotonous in color. The clothing Puritans wore had character, and expressed the character of the wearers. So their conceptions of art and the beautiful excluded superfluity and mere external decoration. The integration of life under the will of God extended to art, and beauty was something not secular but related to the divine law in the universe. John Preston speaks of beauty in terms of the integrity

and symmetry of a thing. A favorite word of some Puritans was *eutaxia*, Englished as "eutaxie," orderliness. "Let not," says Thomas Adams, "God's eutaxie, order, by our frivolous scruples be brought to ataxy, confusion."

Undoubtedly the Puritans feared and warned against the temptations of external beauty. They were also severe critics of dancing and stage plays. The condemnation of the theater by Christian moralists was of course nothing new; and here the prevailing Puritan view was shared by a great many Anglicans, some as remote from Puritanism as Jeremy Collier and William Law. Also, in the great majority of Puritan attacks upon the stage, the reference is not to the art but to its abuses. It is not the theater but *this* theater that is usually condemned. When Stephen Gosson turned from the theater to the Church, he wrote a sprightly attack upon the abuses, not the art, of the stage (*The School of Abuse*, 1579). Philip Stubbes, in *The Anatomy of Abuses* (1583), assailed the theater for the sins that attended it, and fifty years later William Prynne is even more hostile (*Histriomastix*, 1633). Between these writers came Shakespeare, of whose plays contemporary religious authors made no use.

Yet it must be said that there was little appreciation of drama by Puritans. Milton is in this an exception. Apparently most Puritans were too much shocked by the evils of the stage to look for its merits. Baxter is typical in condemning even the reading of stage plays as a waste of time. Dr. Percy A. Scholes, who (in *Puritanism and Music in England and New England*) has examined the whole question of Puritanism and the arts with meticulous care, points out that Stubbes was in church connection a loyal Anglican though from his opinions he is usually classed as a Puritan. Stubbes had the same critical approach to music that he had to plays. He writes:

"I say of Musick as Plato, Aristotle and Galen and many others have said of it; that it is very ill for young heds, for a certain kinde of nice smoothe swetnes in alluring the audity to nicenes, effeminacie, pusillanimitie, and loathsomeness of life."

But the reference here is to music accompanying "filthie dancing," not to that by which a man is diverted from his cares at home. Regarding the latter, Stubbes has only praise:

"I grant Musick is a good gift of God, and that it delighteth both man and beast, reviveth the spirits, comforteth the hart and maketh it readier to serve God. . . . Used for man's private recreation Musick is very laudable."

The dancing he condemns is "dancing as it is used (or rather abused) in these daies," attended as it is by "baudye gestures"; just as Perkins refers to "dancing in these dayes" as "the very bel-lowes of Lust."

Most of us would not be a whit less unfavorable to the kind of dancing, or in many cases the kind of plays, these men were condemning. But their fault was (and ours may be) that they generally took no pains to reform the abuses of these arts and recreations. They were often content to reject what others did, not to seek its replacement. This is less true of music, in which many of them took a positive interest. But in general the dance and the theater were not serious enough for the Puritan. They demanded more time than they deserved from the Christian hastening on his way to heaven; and they were not conducive to that "heavenly-mindedness" which Baxter, Gouge, and others extolled. Those who find life dreary without these recreations suppose that Puritans lived a dreary life. This does not necessarily follow. They avoided the fatigue of the pleasure seeker whose "toiling pleasure sickens into pain." We read of Colonel Hutchinson that "he never was at any time idle, and hated to see anyone else so," but also that "he was naturally cheerful" and "everything that it was necessary for him to do he did with delight." Though "he could dance admirably well," he desisted from it, but cultivated his "great love of music, and often diverted himself with a viol, on which he played masterly."

IX

The Puritan austerity is not, then, basically a negation of life or of art. It is rather a consequence of that principle of economy to which attention was called above. But of necessity the application of this principle involved negations. It involved the exclusion of whatever was deemed a hindrance to the heavenly voyager. The

accent was laid too much on these rejections. Often in controversy the Puritan so pressed his negations that he failed to affirm the good life in its fullness; and often he impoverished public worship. It is not easy to give a balanced judgment here. The anti-Puritan animus still finds popular expression, and is shared by the sons of pleasure and the lovers of ceremonial. We have a right to criticize many Puritans for pruning the tree too closely. But it is only folly to suppose that there should be no pruning. Whether we look at worship or at conduct, something corresponding to the Puritan criticism is always needful. Worship deteriorates under a growth of uncensored ceremonial, just as morality dissolves where discipline is neglected. To give the Puritan his due, he was primarily concerned with great matters—the renewal of the soul in God, a conscience void of offense, the will of God for Church and society—even though things secondary and peripheral to these sometimes received his grave attention.

All in all, Puritanism has been profitable to the modern world, especially the Anglo-Saxon world, which alone felt its direct impact. The good things in it are coming to fresh recognition and appreciation by scholars today. It was not the whole of Christianity, since it was weak in the expression of charity. But it may be that in life and worship the time is ripe for a kindlier and wiser utterance of some of the old Puritan criticisms and affirmations.

Chapter

2

GERMAN PIETISM

I

The history of that movement in Protestantism commonly called Pietism has received little attention from writers in our language. A speaker who would mention it in any general group would probably have to guard against the current prejudice under which the word "piety" suffers. This word for many carries the suggestion of stuffiness, pretension, and a kind of religious anemia. Now "piety" was a good, honest word among the ancient pagans and early Christians. The adjective *pius* which Vergil attaches as a badge of honor to his epic hero was adopted as a personal name; it was borne by a bishop of Rome about A.D. 140-155. The Greek word *eusebeia*, which is Latinized as *pietas*, appears more than a dozen times in the New Testament. The Authorized Version usually renders it "godliness." The Revised Standard Version also uses "piety" or "religion." The basic thought is that of dutifulness, especially toward a deity. It was of course possible, as we see in II Tim. 3:5, to have "the form of *eusebeia*" while denying "the power of it"; and the professors of piety have often exhibited the form where they have not convinced others of the power. The thought of power is associated with that of piety also in Acts 3:12, where, after the healing of the cripple who sat for alms at the Beautiful Gate, Peter says to the astonished onlookers, "Why do you stare at us, as though by our own power or piety [*eusebeia*] we had made him walk?" In the German Pietists, we see again piety associated with spiritual power; and, like Peter, they would ascribe to the power of God all the good results of their labors.

The Pietist movement took its rise shortly after the Thirty Years' War, which spread physical devastation and human degradation through most of Germany. This disastrous conflict at the time (1618-1648) called forth little response from the churches that could suggest a favorable religious forecast. The invigorating conceptions of the Reformation had been systematized, and debilitated, in Lutheran scholasticism. The very debates in theology were skirmishes in corners of the field, unlike the larger controversies of another generation. The sufferings of war seem not to have stimulated the churches to any great effort toward the relief and comfort of the sufferers. If John Valentine Andreae undertook such labors at Calw, he had almost no imitators. A few were interested in the cause of Christian unity, such as George Calixtus, the leader of the so-called Syncretists, and the indomitable Scot, John Dury, who for half a century bore witness to the gospel of unity, mainly on the Continent. But no marked interest attended these efforts. Religious life was low, and the ministry generally ill-equipped to stir it to new vigor.

The apostle of the Pietist revival was Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705). When the Peace of Westphalia brought the war to an end, Spener was a boy of thirteen. Rappoltswiler, Upper Alsace, where he was born and spent his boyhood, escaped the general ruin, and he lived a sheltered and privileged life. He early received strong religious impressions from both his parents and, more especially, from his godmother, the Countess of Rappoltstein. Joachim Stoll, the pastor of Rappoltstein, and later Spener's brother-in-law, religiously guided the growing boy, and initiated him into the Greek language. The Baron von Canstein, who wrote the first *Life of Spener* (1740), once asked him whether he ever was a bad boy. He admitted that he had once, when he was twelve, been induced to join in a dance; but he had been immediately overtaken by pangs of conscience (*Angst*), and broke from the dancing throng — never to dance again. This incident illustrates the naïve innocence and austere discipline of his boyhood, also perhaps the shyness that would be natural in a child so socially protected as Spener was. A psychologically trained student wrote a class paper on Spener in which he was represented as a life-long victim of timidity. This

view involves some dubious conjectures. He never was so timid as to abandon his principles when attacked. But he grew up a grave and studious youth, and when he went to the University of Strasbourg, he avoided the student games and pleasures. He took an interest in history and heraldry, and was stimulated by his teachers religiously as well as intellectually. His master's thesis (1653) was an attack on Hobbes, entitled *On the Conformation of the Rational Nature to the Creator*.

He visited France in 1656 and, after other activities, in 1659 he started on an academic pilgrimage that began with Basel and was continued in Geneva. An illness caused his stay in Geneva to be protracted, and the Lutheran theology he had willingly imbibed at Strasbourg was fertilized by Calvinism. Similar had been the experience of John Valentine Andreae, who almost rapturously described the Christian community of Geneva fifty years before Spener's visit, and was moved by his observation of it to write his celebrated *Christianopolis* (1619). Though he remained a zealous Lutheran, Spener too was warm in his admiration for Geneva. He formed a friendship with a professor of history there, a devout Waldensian, Antoine Leger, who shared his hobby of heraldry. In Geneva he also met the celebrated ex-Jesuit Jean de Labadie (d. 1674), who had just entered upon a seven-year residence there and was vehemently preaching repentance and regeneration. Labadie attempted to found a new church of the regenerate, on the primitive model, and Spener attended some of his meetings. It is likely that he was much impressed by Labadie; and he may have derived from him some suggestions toward his later concept of the *ecclesiola* or little church of true saints.

But the ingredients that entered into Spener's mental and spiritual equipment were many and varied. The influence of Stoll was continued for many years, and may have affected his stress upon the practical application of religion. At the University of Strasbourg, Johann Conrad Dannhauer had stressed Luther's theology. The young Spener was a diligent reader, and we know some of the books that impressed him. The German work of greatest value for him was John Arndt's *True Christianity*, published 1605-1609, before

the Thirty Years' War. Arndt's aim was to induce theologians and lay people to turn from controversy to fellowship and charity, and from the confessions of faith to faith itself. He held it essential to add holiness of life to purity of doctrine. Arndt has passages that accord with salient ideas of Pietism. Take, for example, his teaching on the new birth. Man was created, he holds, to show forth the living image and similitude of the invisible God. By the fall of Adam he lost the heavenly image and became earthly and fleshly. A new birth is requisite for the restoration of the divine image:

"The new birth is the work of God, the Holy Spirit, whereby a man from a child of wrath and damnation becomes a child of blessedness, from a sinner righteous, through faith, Word, and sacrament; whereby, too, our heart, sense, and mind, understanding, will, and affection are renewed, enlightened, and made holy . . . a new creature in and according to Christ Jesus" (*Vom wahren Christentum*, I, v).

The discussions of repentance and faith are similarly in accord with Pietist viewpoints.

There was a mystical element in Arndt, but it was subdued. In the work of Jacob Böhme, mysticism was dominant; Spener studied his writings hopefully, but found them disorderly and uncongenial. It is not clear how far Spener was impressed by the religious poetry of Paul Gerhard (d. 1676), in which we find anticipations of the Pietist spirit. Nor do we know the degree of his indebtedness to the Dutch Pietism that preceded him, in which Willem Teelinck (d. 1629), Gisbert Voet (d. 1676), and Jodocus van Lodensteyn (d. 1677) are outstanding personalities. Ritschl calls Jodocus "the first Pietist." It is fair to say here that the Reformed Church in the Netherlands was considerably stirred by this movement before Spener's German Pietism appeared. But we should not, because this Dutch movement has been called Pietism, assume that it was identical with the German Pietism of Spener. By some, indeed, it has been rather identified with Puritanism, on the ground that, like Puritanism, it sought ecclesiastical reforms. It was, moreover, richly fertilized by early English Puritanism; Teelinck had lived in England, and Voet read Puritan books.

In August Lang's view, William Perkins so completely antici-

pated the Pietists that he may be called "the first Pietist." Since, for this author (*Puritanismus und Pietismus*), Perkins stood in a succession from Bucer, an English line of connection exists from Bucer to Spener. Whatever his relation to Perkins, there is no doubt of Spener's debt to other English writers. To some of these he was greatly attracted at an early age. Perhaps most influential was the oft-published and widely translated handbook of Lewis Bayly (or Baily), *The Practice of Pietie*, which first appeared about 1610 and was published in German at Zurich in 1629. Bayly was a Welsh minister of Scottish descent and of strongly Puritan opinions. Though he became bishop of Bangor (1616), he was later in trouble with Archbishop Laud for utterances on the Puritan side. *The Practice of Pietie* exhibits the presuppositions of Puritanism. It contains a series of devotional exercises for morning and evening use in families and in private; meditations on fasting and holy feasting and on the Holy Communion; a "prayer before taking physick," and a series of prayers and consolations for the sick and the dying. It is not now an especially impressive book, but its early popularity in about fifteen languages is attested.

Spener himself says that God in guiding him used the careful reading of books translated from the English, "namely, the *Golden Jewel* of Emanuel Sonthorn¹ and the *Practice of Pietie*," along with

¹ "Sonthorn" or "Sonthomb" is supposed by Paul Grünberg (*Philipp Jakob Spener*, I, 131) to be an inversion of "Thompson"; but having sought among the approved bibliographical guides, I have so far failed to find an English writer of the name and time or any evidence that the book was ever printed in English. The *Guldenes Kleinod* appeared from a Strasbourg press in 1632. Spener says it was "often printed in Lutheran places and heartily beloved by many theologians" (*Theologisches Bedenken*, III, 347). It was reprinted in German more than once after Spener's death. August Lang (*Puritanismus und Pietismus*, p. 109) mistakenly identified it with the *Golden Chain* of William Perkins, a very different book. A copy of the 1632 edition is in the Library of the British Museum. The writer's aim is declared to be to show "how one who has the name of Christian may be a Christian in deed and in truth." The book is in three parts, and contains twenty-two chapters. Part I deals with the basic thoughts and motives that encourage improvement of life; Part II, with the hindrances thereto; Part III, with repentance and obedience. May it not have been translated from an unpublished English manuscript?

Arndt's book, and adds that he "rendered into German verse a chapter on the blessedness of believers" that had greatly stirred him in Bayly's book. In the latter the section referred to is entitled "Meditations on the State of a Christian Reconciled to God in Christ," and treats of the Christian's blessedness in life and death and the life to come. Spener later made use of Bayly's manual in his pastoral work. Other English authors used by him included the Puritans Daniel Dyke and Thomas Goodwin and the Anglican Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter and of Norwich.

Spener was also, during his pastorates, an appreciative reader of some works of Baxter in translation, notably the *Treatise on Self-denial* (1659), which appeared in German at Hamburg in 1665. It is a typically urgent admonition to a consecrated life, and contains much frank criticism of indolent and undevout clergy, such as Spener himself was to voice a few years later. Spener has several favorable references to this and other writings of Baxter in his late work, *Theologische Bedenken*.

II

We do not explain Pietism by citing the literature on which Spener was nourished. Yet he was a man who read in order to appropriate, and there is a real filiation of Pietism from both the irenical mysticism of Arndt and the practical devotion of Puritanism. Furthermore, his debt to predecessors was not confined to those of his own century. Spener had a penchant for history, and he read back through the centuries. He possessed a positive orientation toward medieval works of piety. He knew the teachings of the Reformation, and had the largeness of mind to view them in perspective. He felt himself nearer to Luther than to contemporary interpreters of Luther. He would honor Luther, but he regrets to say that "if Luther should rise again today he could not recognize as his disciples many of his spiritual descendants" (*Theologische Bedenken*, III, 84). He held that the Lutheran Reformation was left incomplete. "The departure from Babylon took place, indeed, but the temple and the city were not yet built," and there is needed now a fresh cleansing

of abuses (III, 179, 180). Furthermore, Luther's authority is not final. He was a fallible man "far, far beneath the apostles." We must not follow him blindly; there is much in him that we must sorrowfully deplore (III, 712). While he remained critical of some points of Calvinism, he reacted against the anti-Calvinist animus of current Lutheran argumentation. It has been said that on his deathbed Spener confessed as a sin the uncharitable condemnation of the Reformed to which he had once or twice given utterance. The question of the influence of Martin Bucer of Strasbourg (d. 1551) upon Spener is an open one, but his whole view of the pastoral office resembles rather closely that of Bucer, and there is every reason to suppose that this is not accidental. Indeed, Bucer's emphasis upon the mutuality of the Christian life, and practice of "mutual edification" in group meetings at Strasbourg in the 1540's, may in some sense have furnished a model to Spener.

It was in Strasbourg that Spener began his pastoral labors (March 25, 1663). He accepted the call to Strasbourg, and ministerial ordination, with fear and trembling, and only after consulting his brother-in-law, Joachim Stoll, who replied, "The call comes from God." At his mother's prompting, Spener married Susanna Erhard, daughter of a prominent citizen, in May, 1664, and in June he was promoted to the doctorate in theology. In 1666, he was unwillingly released by the Strasbourgers to Frankfort, where he had a fruitful ministry of nineteen years (1666-1685). It was here that the Pietism of Spener, as a new movement affecting German Lutheranism, had its inception.

Spener, at thirty-one, placed over a group of pastors older than himself, and distressed by the prevailing irreligion of the people, courageously undertook a reform of religious instruction. In what was then a startling innovation, he broke from the limitations of the *Perikopen*, or appointed readings, and began preaching on texts of his own selection and on whole books of the Bible. He reintroduced the service of confirmation that had been abandoned, and set apart days of fasting and prayer. Still he felt that little was accomplished. The life of the careless Frankfort burghers remained unaffected. One day in 1669, he preached a challenging sermon on Matt. 5:20-26

("Except your righteousness shall exceed . . ."), insisting on the necessity of a complete conversion and a living faith. The response was surprising; it startled Spener himself into a fresh searching of his own conscience. Presently he was holding in his study group meetings of the awakened, using Bayly's book along with the New Testament; and a transformation of family life began to appear in the city. The *collegia pietatis*, groups of earnest folk meeting for study and prayer, constituted a notable feature of Pietism. But actually Spener found them difficult to maintain on a high level, and abandoned the effort.

In 1674, Spener was invited by a book firm in Frankfort to write an introduction to a new edition of some sermons by Arndt. He did so, and the piece took the form of an independent treatise prefixed to Arndt's work, entitled *Pia desideria* (*Pious Longings*). This book has the importance of being the first formulation and manifesto of Pietism, and the date of its appearance, March 24, 1675, may be said to mark the end of the century of Lutheran scholasticism and the beginning of the era of Pietism. Some years later, to his annoyance, the name "Pietists" was applied to Spener's followers.

Pia desideria is a bold little book, mingling frank criticism with a program for bringing new vitality to the Church. The criticism comes first. Spener flays the upper classes and magistrates, charging them with worldliness and dissolute habits, and attacks their apparent assumption that government ought to be atheistic. He is dealing here, not with politics, but with the morals of politicians. He had early resolved to avoid political criticism. The sins of the *bourgeoisie* are reviewed; they include prodigality and drunkenness and a neglect of the works of charity. The clergy themselves are blameworthy; they are often scandalous and ignorant, and they prefer controversy to pastoral duty. The work of Luther, interrupted, must be resumed and the people lifted from their corruption, which Roman Catholics point to as the natural fruit of the Reformation.

The urgency, and something like the anger, of Luther himself is here. But Spener was no Luther. He was in reality an irenic soul, and most of all desired to be constructive. He argues that reform of these conditions is a possibility: And he proceeds to set forth

what he regards as "the way to Reformation." Six requirements are stated:

1. The Word of God must be better made known through systematic public reading and interpretation, group study, and family and private devotional reading. In the group meetings (*Versammlungen*), all members should have freedom to express their ideas. These conferences would be a return to "the ancient apostolic sort of church gathering."

2. The restoration and active use of the spiritual priesthood. This Spener interprets (in agreement with Luther) as the offering by each believer of prayer, good works, and alms, not only for himself, but for others. Each Christian is to pray for all and care for the blessedness of all. This concept of a mutual cure of souls is a favorite one of Luther and Bucer, and not less of Calvin.

3. The people must be diligently taught that Christianity consists not in knowing but in action (*in der That*). The reference here is primarily to the implementation of love to our neighbor.

4. Controversies should be avoided or entered upon only prayerfully and dispassionately; those in error are to be met with heartfelt love.

5. A revolution in the training of ministers is demanded. The teachers must aim not only to impart knowledge but to have truth penetrate the soul. Spener recommends nonpolemical and edifying books, and finds his chief favorites of medieval vintage, such as the works of Tauler, the *Imitation of Christ*, and the *German Theology*.

6. Preaching should be so reformed as to be truly edifying; it should awaken faith and urge the fruits of faith, and it should be simple and free from learned ostentation.

In this mighty little book Spener expressed the religious needs of his age with great effectiveness. He lived to write many others, all bearing some relation to this basic statement. Among these are *The Spiritual Priesthood* (1677) and *Impediments to Theological Study* (1690), obviously expansions of points 2 and 5 of the *Pia desideria*. The former consists of seventy questions and answers. The spiritual priesthood is defined as:

"The right which our Saviour, Jesus Christ, has won for all men and by which he saves his believing ones through his Holy Spirit, by virtue of which they bring acceptable sacrifices to God, pray for themselves and for others, and each one may, and ought to, edify himself and his neighbor."

Women exercise this priesthood, though not in the public assembly (60, 61); and it qualifies laymen to judge their preachers (70). In the treatment of the theological curriculum he argues strongly for practical studies to replace controversial theology. Here, and in his letters, he approves the liberal education that stresses language, history, and classical philosophy. In Spener a strain of liberalism mingles with the intensity of the devout life. In his *Nature and Grace*, a Latin work of 1687, he argues that grace is not wholly detached from nature or contrary to it:

"Thus in the very holiest works of grace, even those which are most directly prompted by the Holy Spirit, the force of nature is not utterly and absolutely excluded" (ii, 1-3).

Spener's influence was now spreading widely. He was praised and imitated, and he was unfairly attacked. One of his opponents, Balthazar Menzer, spread the charge that Spener was a Jesuit; another found him guilty of a heterodox insistence on the illumination of the Holy Spirit. The second assailant, Conrad Diefeld, overcome in the end by Spener's charity, repented of his unjust charges. When Spener was called to be court preacher at Dresden, 1686, criticism and admiration alike increased. The movement was taken up at Leipzig University, where a group led by August Hermann Francke, calling itself *Collegium Philobiblicum*, met for prayer and Bible study. About this time (1689), Joachim Feller, professor of poetry at Leipzig, in a funeral poem digressed to define the new word "Pietist." A Pietist, he said, "is a man who studies the word of God and, taking it for his rule of faith and conduct, leads an exemplary life." But another professor, John Benedict Carpzov, a former admirer of Spener who had coveted the post he now held and had become an embittered critic, used the term in scorn as the name of a new sect, and aimed to drive the Pietists out of Leipzig. "Our mis-

sion as professors," said Carpzov, "is to make students more learned and not more pious." (We may know campuses where the point of view is familiar.) In March, 1690, the little fraternity of Bible lovers was forbidden to meet again, and its leaders soon left the city. Two years later Spener, who had been in difficulties at Dresden for having rebuked his pleasure-loving Saxon prince, John George III, accepted the invitation of the Elector of Brandenburg (soon to be King Frederick I of Prussia) to Berlin, and there, after a fruitful but troubled pastorate, he died, February 6, 1705. His later writings included the extensive miscellany, *Theologische Bedenken*, which contains autobiographical materials in addition to theological interpretation.

III

We have mentioned the second great name in Pietism and it will be useful here to become better acquainted with August Hermann Francke, 1663-1727. He was born at Lübeck, but his father, a doctor of law, removed to Gotha when August was a child of three, and here he was well instructed until at the age of sixteen he was ready for the university. He went to Erfurt, but very soon removed to the University of Kiel, where he spent five years, and excelled in Hebrew. He had exhibited in boyhood a religious seriousness but had grown ambitious and religiously indifferent when the influence of Pietism began to play upon him through Christian Korthold of Kiel, an admirer of Spener. Francke became a *Privatdozent* at Leipzig in 1685, and soon afterward formed the *Collegium Philobiblicum*, a Bible study group.

But Francke did not, like Spener and Zinzendorf, become devout without a great inward struggle. He passed two years in deep concern and anxious doubt. He doubted the very existence of God, and once prayed, "O God, if thou art, show thyself to me." "The more I wanted to help myself," he says, "the deeper I was plunged in disquiet and doubt." One day his boardinghouse master saw him with a New Testament in his hand and remarked to him, "Yes, we have a great treasure in this book." At the moment Francke's eyes were on the words, "We have this treasure in earthen vessels," and he

was startled at the seemingly Providential coincidence. The account he gives of this experience reminds us of the passages in which Scripture phrases startled John Bunyan in his time of anxiety, as vividly described in *Grace Abounding*. The problem for Francke was more intellectual. It centered in belief:

"I looked over my past life, as one looks from a lofty tower over an entire city. At first I began counting my sins, but afterward I beheld their fountainhead, unbelief, or rather false belief, with which until now I had deceived myself."

Few men, perhaps, have been converted by their own preaching. Yet a sermon of Francke's on John 20:31 ("But these are written, that ye might believe . . .") marked the change from doubt and depression to faith and comfort of soul. This was in 1687. The following year he visited Spener, residing with him for some months at Dresden, and early in 1689 he returned to Leipzig to resume his group meetings and to lecture in exegesis. But, as we have noted, he and certain of his friends were obliged, because of their Pietism, to leave the university. Next he had a pastorate at Erfurt, but this was attended by conflict and ended in his abrupt expulsion. Spener, however, proved a friend in need to Francke; he induced the Elector of Brandenburg in 1692 to invite him to the University of Halle, then an infant institution just beginning to function. It was arranged that Francke should draw his small salary from the parish of Glaucha, whose pastor he became, but he lectured in the university, at first without remuneration, and was made professor of Greek and Oriental languages.

Then began a decade of extraordinary achievement of a sort quite without parallel in earlier Lutheranism. In 1701, Francke wrote a chronicle of what had happened, and with his later additions it appeared in English at Edinburgh (1727) as: *Pietas Hallensis, Or a Public Demonstration of the Footsteps of a Divine Being Yet in the World, in an Historical Narration of the Orphan House and Other Charitable Institutions at Glaucha near Halle in Saxony*. The work he here reports grew out of Francke's concern for the people of Halle and its environs. He had compassion on the multitudes, the

teeming population of neglected folk, many of whom he found both destitute and demoralized. He began to assemble and catechize them and, as he says, distributed together "spiritual and temporal provisions." D. L. Moody used to say, "The reward of service is more service": Francke's responsibilities were multiplied as rapidly as he met them.

A school was begun for the destitute and neglected, but money was needed. Says Francke: "I bought an alms box, and this I caused to be handed about . . . to well-disposed students and all such as were willing to contribute." It is interesting to find that he hesitated to invite the rich, fearing, as he puts it, that they would refuse "to part with the smallest limb of their golden idol." Not much came in, and he soon took the modest course of keeping a box for contributions in his own much-frequented living room, with the text I John 3:17 inscribed upon it: "Whoso hath this world's goods. . . ." Not long after, he was elated to find in it four thalers and sixteen groschen, a sum of money equivalent perhaps to a ten-dollar bill. He later refers to this as the meal in the barrel and the oil in the cruse that did not fail. Some of the money was spent in hiring a poor student to teach children, and some for books — which were taken away by the young readers, and not returned.

Discouragement was lifted when Francke got five hundred crowns from an unnamed donor, 1695. He was prompt and inventive in his philanthropies, and every contribution was instantly put to use. Soon a whole series of institutions began to arise, on a shoestring plus Francke's faith in the providence and guidance of God. He began to support orphans, whom he placed in approved homes; then (1696) he purchased a house for a growing family of orphans. He aided poor students, but found them wasteful of their allowances and took a new step:

"I resolved in the name of God freely to board them instead. So I cast myself upon the providence of the Lord, hoping that his bounty from time to time would supply us with such relief as was sufficient for them."

He assessed the results favorably. The residence life was an improvement. It enabled him to study the disposition of each lad, and "to

keep under stricter awe the whole tenor of their conversation," as well as to repel those who on pretense of poverty had accepted help, but were not willing to endure the austerity of the house. Soon he developed a large charity school, which had two sections for older and younger boys and two for girls, with four masters, and with books provided for use in the classrooms. Another school for fee-paying pupils, was instituted, but its work was integrated with that of the school for the poor. Classes were held in ecclesiastical Latin, Greek, Hebrew, history, and geography.

In Holland institutions of charity were far more advanced than in Germany, and Francke wished to profit by the Dutch examples. In 1697 he sent an emissary, Heinrich Neubauer, to Holland to investigate charity schools, and obtained useful information. He now purchased the tavern known as the Golden Eagle, and, to forestall the building of an alehouse next door, bought an adjacent lot as well; then he laid the foundation for a hospital, and waited upon God for money to build it. An architect advised stone, not wood, and stone it was. Men thought it would never be built. Said one, "If this wall comes to be finished, I'll hang myself on it." The building was occupied, Easter, 1701, but no hanging of the unbeliever is recorded. In 1697, the gymnasium, or Latin school, had its origin. It took care of talented boys, and soon attracted pupils from distant places and became a school of European importance. The *paedagogium*, begun with three pupils from well-to-do families in 1698, though much smaller than the Latin school, also obtained international significance. A House of Widows was established on a donation made in 1698; it had a garden, a chaplain, a physician, and a maid. It was designed, says Francke, not merely to support the poor widows but to instruct them in intercessory prayer for the city, the country and ruler, and the whole Church. He evidently had in mind the function of the enrolled widows in the Early Church (I Tim. 5:3-16).

Another tavern was acquired and transformed into a gynaeceum, a house for unmarried women who could pay for their support. There was a school to train students in catechizing, and (in 1704) a "Seminary of Preceptors," or teacher training institute. A young

physician, Christian Friedrich Richter, turned over his property and gave his services, and with others established a medical dispensary. Provision was made for Halle students in theology to obtain some knowledge of medicine. A book depot was set up with the aid of another benefactor; it soon had branches in Berlin and elsewhere. A Bible house followed and was aided by a printing establishment under the Baron von Canstein, which produced Bibles cheaply in many languages, and much other religious literature.

Funds flowed in with every project. Many large gifts were anonymous. A timely shipment of thirteen and a half tons of herrings saved the faith of a downhearted steward. Clothing, tableware, jewelry, a share in a silver mine, beer, medicines were included in the miscellaneous gifts which Francke asked of heaven alone. He sent no anxious letters soliciting funds. His motive in writing *Pietas Hallensis* was not to appeal for money but to persuade the reader of the goodness of God. He states rather bluntly that he will place his trust in no contributor, but in God alone. In an appended section he writes as one who has lived in the center of a continuous miracle:

"For my part I readily confess that I have engaged in this affair, and am hardly able to give any sufficient reason for it. 'Twas I think a secret guidance of the Lord, whereby I was carried to the performance of such things as tended to an end I had not yet conceived in my mind."

>The Halle Foundations grew out of the indomitable faith and creative genius of one consecrated man, with nothing of worldly calculation. Religion was always the primary concern of Francke, but religion brought with it an irresistible inner compulsion to assail what was evil and unsatisfactory in social life. He was no sociologist. Instead of making a study of juvenile delinquency, he combatted it with the agencies of religion. But as he observed the routine operation of these agencies, he saw clearly that they had a social significance. He was happy to give a service to the community as well as to the Church.

"Here [he writes] a foundation is laid for training up good workmen in all trades, good schoolmasters, good preachers and counselors, who of course hereafter will think themselves the more obliged to serve

everyone because they have both an experimental knowledge of God's providence from their youth up and the benefit of a sound and solid education. . . . By such undertakings, therefore, the country will be cleared by degrees of stubborn beggars, thieves, murderers, highwaymen, footpads, and the whole pack of loose and debauched people" (p. 76).

Francke was the most distinguished promoter of Protestant foreign missions in his time, one hundred years before William Carey. In 1705 two young men from Halle, Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plütschau, pupils of Francke, went at the request of Frederick IV of Denmark to Tranquebar, India. The successful mission that resulted was directed by Francke while he lived. As Pietism became identified with the cause of foreign missions, the Halle community became more ecumenical in its outlook. Yet Francke was somewhat narrow and angular in his theology. He was a constant and aggressive preacher and writer, and he did not escape criticism and controversy. He was more austere than Spener and less generous to opponents; his opinions were held with immovable conviction. His educational treatise *Short and Simple Instruction*, 1702, shows him very stern in his educational method: he does not favor children's play in any form. He preached against dancing, cardplaying, and the theater. Having been through an intense experience of conversion himself, he laid great stress on the new birth as a necessity for an effective ministry. His ablest opponent, Valentin Ernst Löscher, of Dresden, held that an unconverted minister may, if he is orthodox in his preaching, be an instrument of salvation to others, while the Halle theologians, Francke and his colleagues, Joachim Lange and Johann Daniel Herrnschmidt, assailed this view. A conference of the Halle men with Löscher in 1722 was marked by sharp antagonism, and was followed by the publication of the final section of an able anti-Pietist work by Löscher, *Timotheus Verinus*, 1718-1722.

Another issue was that of the confessional. Francke's old associate, J. K. Schade, who left Leipzig with him and joined Spener in Berlin, embarrassed Spener by a violent attack upon private confession as it was practiced in Lutheranism. Spener had his doubts about the

Lutheran maintenance of the confessional in its modified form, but he never desired its abolition. Francke found people neglecting the practice because they could not pay the *Beichtpfennig*, or fee for hearing confessions, and he substituted intimate conversations for the formal confession. In various ways, then, Pietism offered a disturbing challenge to the older Lutheranism. It expanded in an atmosphere of controversy more intense than we can easily imagine, and in Francke it possessed a convinced and somewhat dogmatic champion.

IV

We cannot now place on review the other Halle apostles and discuss the far from monotonously peaceable inner history of Pietism. But two other famous names must be mentioned in order to expand the range of our survey. Nicholas Ludwig Count von Zinzendorf (1700-1760) was a brilliant pupil at the Halle *paedagogium* from 1710 to 1716. A sensitive, precocious boy, he was greatly stimulated by Francke, in whose home he heard missionary newsletters read ("edifying reports of the Kingdom of Christ"). The program of the school, exacting as it was, was insufficient to capture all his energies, and at the age of fourteen he organized a boys' group, the "Slaves of Virtue" (later called "Order of the Grain of Mustard Seed"), whose members adopted a constitution in which they pledged themselves "to love the whole human race." He and his companions were stirred by the missionary interests of their seniors, and excited over the visits of Plütschau with a converted Indian (1713) and of Ziegenbalg, who was married at Halle to the sister of a friend of Zinzendorf when on furlough (1715).

But Zinzendorf had even earlier felt the attraction of Spener, who was his godfather and who, when he was four, had laid his aged hands benevolently on the boy's head and blessed him (1704). Zinzendorf was to have a dramatic career, and to exercise a wide influence. He was ardent, hot-tempered, and warmhearted, a man of impulse yet of earnest and unfaltering purpose. August Gottlieb Spangenberg, who lived on intimate terms with him for thirty years, testifies that he followed immutably "the purpose formed in

his childhood of serving the Lord with all his heart and strength." His greatest achievement was the creation of the Moravian Church from refugee fragments of Hussitism. Yet he was so far attached to Lutheranism that he took holy orders in that Church. His relative indifference to denominational peculiarities made it possible for him to regard himself as a member of both communions. His statement (1741), "I can tie my testimony to no denomination," is out of accord with the ordinary Pietist position.

After Francke's death (1727), his son and successor in Halle did not find Zinzendorf satisfactory. In the reckoning of strict Halle Pietists, the Count was an unconverted man. He had never been other than a pious Christian since the age of four when Spener had blessed him, and since he had learned to write and tossed out of the window of his grandmother's castle notes addressed to Jesus. His religious troubles at the age of nineteen and twenty were not describable as conversion. Moreover, he had fallen for a short time at Wittenberg under the instruction of men unfavorable to Pietism. This led him, though only eighteen at the time, to propose an agreement between the orthodox Wittenbergers and the Halle Pietists. As patron and bishop of the Moravians, he was now associated with a non-Lutheran communion, while he still showed himself tolerant of the orthodox opponents of the Pietists. It was not only at Halle that he was regarded with suspicion and disfavor. He was widely criticized for his extravagant mysticism and curious distortions of doctrine, for his tolerance of Moravian usages, and for his utopian projects of reunion with Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Churches. He had far too much individuality and impatience to fall into the mold of the Halle school and become merely a disciple of Francke.

The Moravian Church, refounded by Zinzendorf, as it expanded in Europe and America became a potent force in Christianity. It was deeply affected by the peculiarities of Zinzendorf's Pietism. His idea of the true Church as "the Church of God in the Spirit" made him peculiarly free in denominational relationships. The Moravians outside of the mother community of Herrnhut, constituted a "diaspora," testifying to their principles among other Christians. Zinzen-

dorf attempted to bring to unity the spiritual or awakened Christians by the plan of the "tropes," or groups favorable to Moravian Pietism within Lutheran, Reformed, or other Churches. In America this was attempted in the midst of the German-speaking sects of Pennsylvania during and after Zinzendorf's visit in 1741-1742. The outcome was not what Zinzendorf hoped for. The interpenetration of sects did not lead to their unification, but occasioned increased suspicion and bitterness. The validity of Zinzendorf's concept of a hidden unity within all Christian communions ought not to be judged by this outcome. There were unfavorable personality factors and other adverse conditions. Zinzendorf was an apostle of amity and Christian gentleness who was, nevertheless, inclined to be headstrong and lordly. As the deliverer of the Moravian community at Herrnhut he was permitted to be its master, but elsewhere he met resistance and criticism. In America the most effective opposition came from Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, a loyal representative and apostle of the Halle school, who during the 1740's won the Pennsylvania Germans to a sober, pietistic Lutheranism.

In the renewed Moravian Church the attempt was made to return unreservedly to apostolic practice. This extended to the rites of foot washing, love feasts, the kiss of peace, and the casting of lots. The group life of the members was intensively cultivated, and residence arrangements were made to conduce to this. "Choirs," or households for persons of age groups, and "little societies," which were subdivisions of these, were formed and maintained. Common occupations were attended by vocal and instrumental music, and occupational hymns were employed (e.g., "Spin and weave compelled by love, sew and wash with fervor"). Unfortunately this innocent fervor of the Moravians was marred by a morbid devotion to the wounds of Christ, which reached a stage of uninhibited and repulsive extravagance. Many of the hymns used had erotic imagery of Christ the Bridegroom mingled with realistic phrases descriptive of Christ's agony and bloody sweat. These phenomena appeared both in Europe and in America. In the settlement of Herrnhut in the late 1740's, the followers of Zinzendorf called themselves (to select a mild example) "little fools, children, virgins that were only to enjoy

themselves in the wounds of Jesus." Zinzendorf was himself the inspirer of these pious extravagances. Thereby he lost the admiration of many well-wishers and gave opportunity to his defamers. Theologically too he was wayward. His conception of the Trinity as Father, Mother, and Son was shocking to many. It has been pointed out that this did not mean the subordination of the Son. Instead, primary devotion was paid to Christ, who was said to be the Person named in the clause, "Our Father which art in heaven." God the Father receded into the background so as to become "a kind of Grandfather" to believers.

Ultimately Zinzendorf responded to the censure he had incurred, called in and burned many of his objectionable hymns, desisted from the use of offensive theological phrases, and honestly repented of his strange aberrations. The movement he had instituted came under the control of August Gottlieb Spangenberg, a man endowed with wisdom no less than piety, who led the Moravians on safer paths. Because of his adherence to Zinzendorf, Spangenberg had forfeited the good will of the Halle authorities in the days of Francke's successor (1733).

Despite this severance, Zinzendorf must be regarded as a real Pietist. His personal devotion was of the Pietistic type, and his interest in missions, vigorously expressed in the Moravian Church under his influence, was initially aroused in the Halle circle.

V

A particularly attractive Pietist of Zinzendorf's generation was John Albert Bengel (1687-1752), in whom the liberal Pietism of Würtemberg had its greatest figure. At the University of Tübingen, Bengel fell under the influence of Pietist teachers. He began to read Spener and Francke, and spent a fruitful and very happy summer (1713) at Halle. In a letter of June 17, 1713, he describes vividly the studious and pious life of a Halle student, and comments admiringly upon the lectures of Francke and his associates. From 1713 to 1741 Bengel was a distinguished teacher in the new seminary at Denkendorf. He was a good classical scholar, and a lover of Cicero.

He edited Cicero's letters and certain treatises of Gregory Thaumaturgus and Chrysostom, but reserved his major effort for the study of the New Testament, in the textual knowledge of which he was unequaled. He made important contributions to the establishing of the Greek text, and in the field of exegesis. Bengel became somewhat celebrated for his saintliness, and was equally beloved by his students and by the ministers whose superintendent he became. He used simple rules of life, and recommended these to his students. Here are examples:

"Let your one object and endeavor in everything be the glory of God, a good conscience, and sincerity about becoming instrumental to the good of the public.

"Be careful to keep an accurate diary and memorandum book.

"Examine yourself from time to time, and especially at the close of each week, what progress you have made in everything."

Bengel was a pastor of pastors, and he wrote on pastoral problems with wisdom and insight. His correspondence contains much thoughtful and kindly admonition to ministers and lay people, sick and well. His letters and other writings attest the fact that (in contrast with Zinzendorf) he lived in great inward composure and was hardly capable of doing or saying anything ill-considered. Toward Zinzendorf's extravagances he could not but feel repulsion, but he was very patient with the zealous Count, and withheld his censures for many years. Finally he published some criticisms of Zinzendorf's "novel phraseology" and offered corrections of his New Testament translation. Bengel's biographer, J. C. F. Burk, connects Zinzendorf's repudiation of his censurable views with the gentle criticism he received from Bengel. If Bengel differed from Zinzendorf in his moderation and patience, he differed equally from Francke in the absence of legalism and the general liberality of his outlook. His six (surviving) children were successfully raised on a discipline that would have shocked Francke. Bengel wrote:

"If every opportunity for gross conduct is taken away, youth will do better kept to their own choice of innocent pursuits and pleasures than if kept under the dictation of others."

In Bengel the very Biblicism of Pietism led to scientific study of the Bible and contributed to the rise of criticism. In John Salomon Semler (d. 1793) we see even more markedly the same transition. Semler was not merely a textual but a historical critic. As the fore-runners of the modern higher criticism began to appear, and to take comfort from his researches, the devout Semler felt much as some of the scientists who developed the atom bomb feel toward the product of their efforts, and voiced his perturbation and alarm.

VI

We see, then, that Pietists differed, and disagreed. Johann Jüngst-Stetin remarks that there is no "normal Pietism" and that there are no "normal Pietists." Spener was anxious to dissociate the fanatical and sectarian elements from the movement, and Francke was unsympathetic toward all wayward mysticism. Yet the insistence of the demand for dedication of life led those of less practical judgment to exaggerations of word and behavior.

There were many besides Zinzendorf who under Pietist influence indulged unwholesome emotions, enjoyed mystical revelations, and affirmed strange doctrines. Werner Marholz has edited personal records of a wide variety of types of experience among Pietists. One devout soul entertains quietistic notions of disinterested love, attains an unspeakable joy, and has visions in which he talks with Christ of heavenly things. Another goes into religious ecstasies, and enters on wide travels extending from England to Moscow. There are extraordinary conversions, as that of the anonymous diarist who was saved from death after being twenty-eight hours buried under stones and sand, and rose to newness of spiritual as well as physical life; or the very different case of one who happened on a tract of William Perkins and was plunged into inexpressible anxiety from which after two years he escaped, through reading other English books, with a flaming love of Christ. Some were melancholic. One of these mourns over his dead wife who, he fears, has joined the company of the wicked through his fault. He complains that his heart clings to the world, small though the reason be:

"O God, it knows thee not; it thinks on thee with thanklessness, indeed, with secret hate, as one who is condemned looks upon his judge. . . . Give me, O God, the grace to cling to thee with constant, earnest prayer."

Among the life histories of Pietist women, notable is that of Eleonore Petersen, who could not accept the doctrine of eternal damnation, and who received a revelation of the conversion of the Jews and heathen, in a bright and intricate dream, fascinating in its symbolism.

These are the common manifestations of intense religious excitement, and might be paralleled in other environments than that of German Pietism. When people are suddenly and deeply affected by religion, they often show symptoms of this kind, though their leaders may view such phenomena with some embarrassment. In the psychological realm there is indeed "no normal Pietism." In the realm of thought and books and co-operative effort, Pietism has, however, a recognizable character. We can offer here only broad judgments of it, with the attitudes and teachings of its greatest leaders chiefly in mind.

VII

Historians have generalized upon Pietism in various ways. Albrecht Ritschl thought of it as essentially a revival of medieval monastic and mystical piety on the soil of Protestantism, stimulated from Reformed and Puritan sources and alien to the spirit of Lutheranism. Jüngst-Stetin, on the contrary, regards it as a progressive movement within Lutheranism. K. S. Pinson finds in it a psychological force that made for the rise of the national spirit in Germany.

We have seen some evidence of the influence of Puritan writers on the founder of Pietism. Many scholars have essayed to compare Pietism with Puritanism and some have regarded these movements as closely similar or virtually identical. The elements common to them have been brought to light by H. L. J. Heppe, A. Lang, and other historians, and what E. S. Waterhouse (in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*) speaks of as "a certain Puritan strain" in

the Pietist pattern of conduct is beyond question. Ernst Troeltsch sees likenesses and differences, and points to the strengthening of Continental Pietism through the influence of Bunyan. Ralph Brinkema in *The Essence of Puritanism*, quoting many modern opinions, examines their relationships at some length and stresses the differences rather than the similarities. Pietism, he thinks, was more "individualistic and subjective" than Puritanism. Pietism was emotional, while Puritanism was "more stolid, austere, and in a sense intellectual." Pietism emphasized love and joy; Puritanism emphasized faith and works, and became somber. Pietism arose as a reaction against formalism, Puritanism as a reaction against Romanism and immorality. It must be said that in the course of his argument these generalizations are considerably modified. It is rather obvious that they require some correction. The Puritans also denounced formalism, while the greater Pietists were adamant against the papacy; and nobody could be more insistent on good works than Francke. And while Spener taught "heart religion," and gave recognition to emotion, there were likewise some Puritans who cultivated an intense religious emotion. They were alike in their emphasis upon a disciplined life and demand for practical training for ministers. Like Puritanism, Pietism was "intellectual" at least in the sense of possessing a concern for education and the training of the mind, and some Pietists were men of distinguished learning. The movement gave, indeed, an impulse to popular education in Germany comparable to that given by Puritanism and Nonconformity in England, and of greater relative importance. The Pietists first used the vernacular in university lectures, and they promoted the technical, vocational aspects of education in a most significant way.

The real differences are notable, however. One difference lies in the attitude to worship. Resemblances of Pietism to Puritanism here are accidental. The Puritans were in revolt against a formal liturgy cluttered with medieval accretions. Spener had far more to say in criticism of preaching than of worship, and his modifications of worship were slight. Another difference is that, while the Puritans took to politics like ducks to water, the Pietists — following an early personal decision of Spener — avoided political issues. The Lutheran ac-

ceptance of the political society as "given" and to be endured was not challenged by Spener; and no doubt the environment offered discouragement to voluntary political effort.

Despite Pietism's avoidance of politics, Dr. Pinson has discovered in it the sources of nineteenth century German nationalism. His evidence is not very convincing. In this connection the importance he would have us give to the use by the Pietists, and later by leaders of the national movement, of certain key words seems not justified. It is doubtless true that Pietists talked a great deal of *Wiedergeburt* (new birth) and that Fichte employed this word with reference to the German nation. But it is unsafe to argue from such data that Pietism was the matrix of German nationalism. There is nothing to prevent a political party from helping itself to the vocabulary of religion. The Italian national *Risorgimento* (Resurrection) was not dependent on a religious movement. Even the Pietist promotion of the educational use of the German language was not a nationalistic phenomenon, but a means of securing the readier spread of knowledge. Admittedly, it is also true that any movement in religion that stirs a whole nation, even though controversies may attend it, helps to unify the nation's culture. Pietism did stir the German people and, so to speak, awakened them out of moral and religious sleep.

On the other hand, Germany has seen no movement more ecumenical in spirit than Pietism, more aware of the whole world and concerned with the issues in world-wide Christianity. If it inadvertently in some degree aided later nationalism, it deliberately and zealously inculcated an interest in the Church's far-extended fellowship and task. Pietism remained a distinct factor in German life, with many manifestations, to the days of Schleiermacher, Jung-Stilling, and the Baroness von Krüdener. It passed to Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and was infused into the rising Lutheranism of America. It was influential in Switzerland, and it stimulated the Methodists and Evangelicals in England and the founders of British missionary societies. It reached out to New England Congregationalism and to the Reformed Churches of Germany, Holland, and America. Whether it is in any sense a revival of a pre-Protestant pi-

ety or not, it has added something to Protestantism, something without which Protestantism would be vastly the poorer. The words of Cotton Mather, who was in correspondence with Francke, in his report of this interchange published as *Nuncia bona e terra longinqua* (1715), are appropriate here.

“The world begins to feel a warmth from the fire of God which thus flames in the heart of Germany, beginning to extend into many regions; the whole world will ere long be sensible of it.”

Chapter

3

THE EVANGELICAL MOVEMENT

I

The status of religion in human societies is never constant. In England and Scotland, a low point in the vigor of the churches and in the sincerity of the Christian profession was registered in the early eighteenth century. At the upper levels of society there was an emancipation from dogma, and widespread rejection of even the most elementary principles of Christianity. The influence of such books as John Toland's *Christianity Not Mysterious* (1696), Anthony Collins' *Discourse of Free Thinking* (1713), and Thomas Woolston's *Discourses on the miracles* (1727-1729) was such as to break down the traditional beliefs to which both Puritans and Anglicans of the previous century could confidently appeal. George Berkeley was among those who fought back vigorously, but until the appearance of Joseph Butler's *Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed* (1736), no very impressive systematic defense of Christianity against Deists and Freethinkers appeared. Bishop Butler hardly overstated the case when he wrote, "It has come to be taken for granted that Christianity is no longer a subject of inquiry, but that it has now at length been discovered to be fictitious."

Montesquieu on returning from a visit to England in 1731 expressed the opinion that there was "no such thing as religion there and the subject, if mentioned in society, excites nothing but laughter." The conditions that might lead a visitor to that conclusion are well attested. Profanity, inhumanity, and the grossest political corruption went unrestrained and almost unrebuked. Life for most was as unhappy as it was unholy — in the phrase used by Hobbes in another connection, it was "nasty, brutish, and short." The poorer

classes were ignorant, drunken, and depraved. The laws were harsh, and men were executed for minor as well as major crimes. If life was cheap, so also was gin. It was consumed with such abandon that some charge to its effects the startling excess of deaths over births that is a feature of the early decades of the century. The gin evil was partly corrected by legislation of 1751: ten years earlier (1740-1742), the number of burials in London had doubled that of baptisms. The churches were ill attended, public worship was formal and spiritless, and the sermons generally reached only the level of platitudinous moral discourses in which Christianity was rather patronized than espoused.

In this unfavorable environment religion had, to be sure, its faithful professors; but they were a feeble flock. Anglicanism brought forth a series of "societies for the reformation of manners." These societies had grown fairly numerous by the end of the seventeenth century. Dr. Horneck, their chief originator, laid down such restrictions as that there should be no discussion of the government of Church or State, that no prayers should be used but those in the Prayer Book, and that the members must "shun unnecessary resort to taverns." While they were chiefly concerned with moral discipline, the religious interest was also strong. Among the Evangelicals the life of religion was to be cultivated with no such encumbering safeguards.

Nonconformity, which inherited the Puritan piety, showed some sparks only of vital religion. In its ranks Isaac Watts and Philip Doddridge stand out for their vigorous testimony to the claims, and the power, of Christianity. Although Watts was to furnish some of the hymnody of the Evangelical movement, his liberal theology would have rendered him uncomfortable with the typical Evangelicals of the later decades. Doddridge, however, would have been at home with most of them, and his *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul* (1744) was to be canonized in Evangelical piety. It was designed to awaken the irreligious and lead them to conversion. Although Doddridge praises certain Anglican writers of an earlier generation, his spiritual affinities are with the Puritans and he may be said to form a link between Puritanism and Evangelicalism.

The debt of the Evangelicals to the Puritans was, indeed, very great. They revived the emphasis seen in Bunyan and Baxter upon repentance and conversion, and inculcated the moral principles that Puritanism had stressed. Early Scottish Evangelicalism fed upon Thomas Boston's *Human Nature in Its Fourfold State*. This book presented a simplified Calvinism in the discussion of man in his "primitive integrity," "entire depravation," "begun recovery," and "consummate happiness or misery." Boston's thought had ripened under the influence of a Puritan book originally published in 1645 entitled:

The Marrow of Modern Divinity, Touching Both the Covenant of Works and the Covenant of Grace . . . in a Dialogue Betwixt Evangelista, a Minister of the Gospel, Nomista, a Legalist, Antinomista, an Antinomian, and Neophytus, a Young Christian. By E. F.

It was apparently the work of Edward Fisher, an Oxford graduate, the son of an English knight. Boston found the book in a cottage at Simprin in 1704, whither it had come in the knapsack of a soldier of Cromwell's army. It contained in dialogue form the teachings on grace of Luther, Calvin, Hooker, and other honored writers, and was designed to stress the invitation of the gospel, "Whosoever will, let him come." Here is a sample of Evangelista's exhortations to Neophytus:

"O, therefore, I beseech you stand no longer disputing; but be peremptory and resolute in your faith, and in casting yourself upon God in Christ for mercy, and let the issue be what it will. . . . God cannot find it in his heart to damn such an one."

The book proved a great illumination to Boston, and transformed his pulpit message. The "Marrow controversy" that followed the republication of Fisher's book in 1717 marks the clash of this evangelical Calvinism with the more rigid and scholastic Calvinism that had prevailed. Boston was opposed to Calvinist "neonomianism" much as Spener was opposed to Lutheran scholastic orthodoxy. The stress he laid upon "assurance" was greater than the older Calvinism in Scotland had ventured to affirm.

Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine were prominent in the small group of Boston's supporters, the "Marrow Men" as they were called. The Erskine brothers were to promote the Evangelical cause after Boston's death (1732), and were largely instrumental in the rise of the Scottish Evangelical movement. The Marrow Men, under investigation for heresy, declared *inter alia*:

"It is a great folly for any man to say — it may be I am not elected . . . therefore I will not accept of it nor come in . . . rather say, I do believe in Christ, and therefore I am sure I am elected. . . . Say then, I beseech you, with a firm faith, the righteousness of Jesus Christ belongs to all that believe."

It will be worth giving some further attention to the Erskines, and especially to Ebenezer, whose personal experience is of the Evangelical pattern. "In the summer of 1708," says A. R. MacEwen, in Erskine's own phrases, "he got his head out of time into eternity," and on August 26, God "brought his heart to give a consent unto Him." This consent to God took the form of a personal covenant, or dedication, such as Doddridge also made a few years later; and let us remember the not dissimilar act of Pascal in 1654. In this covenant Erskine uses the most solemn terms, and concludes: "I give myself away, in soul and body and estate, and all I am or have in this world, unto God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." In his personal prayer life, of which we get glimpses in his *Journal*, he craved that he "might be an instrument to build up a kingdom for Him among His people." "I had this day," he notes at one point, "a solid impression of God upon my spirit and of the great worth of precious souls."

Ralph Erskine was five years younger than Ebenezer. At Edinburgh University he had become a good Latinist, and he had fine gifts of expression in verse and prose. He was ebullient and humorous, and at the same time prayerful and conscientious. Ebenezer at Portmoak and Stirling and Ralph at Dunfermline alike imparted to their parishioners new spiritual life. Ebenezer's sermons (preserved by a corps of eager shorthand recorders) were admitted by an opponent to contain "the gospel in its majesty." By 1714 he was forced by

increasing crowds of hearers to preach in a field adjacent to his church. He instituted "praying societies" in the various districts of his parish, a feature comparable to the *collegia pietatis* of Spener and to the classes later set up by Wesley. Ralph's sermons offer flights of imagination and illustrations from nature that link him with the literary romanticism then just beginning to appear, and he mingles spiritual feeling and symbolism with the plain offer of the gospel. They were not men of great austerity. Ralph took delight in his "wee, sinful fiddle," and wrote pleasant doggerel in praise of tobacco. Ebenezer had on his conscience at times his intemperate use of snuff. But they were not so free in their behavior as their brother-in-law, Rev. Alexander Webster, of Edinburgh, who was equally noted for his evangelical zeal and for his matchless capacity to consume alcohol without injury to his wit. The note of the gospel invitation was dominant in the pulpit doctrine of the Erskines, and mere anxiety about one's own predestination was held to be perverse and futile.

II

Doddridge, Boston, and the Erskines were the harbingers of the Evangelical movement. They were all Calvinists, as was their American contemporary Jonathan Edwards, who by 1726, having wrestled with doubt and Arminianism, could affirm that the doctrine of election was "exceeding comforting and sweet." Some light on the Calvinist character of this incipient Evangelicalism is cast, I believe, by an anonymous tract attributed to Sir Richard Farrington: *The Religion of Many of the Clergy of the Church of England Since the Reign of King James the First. By a Lover of Truth and Godliness*. London, 1707. This writer is convinced that the sad condition of the Church of England "in this time of degeneracy" is a result of the prevalence of Arminianism, which since it was embraced by Archbishop Laud has been adhered to by High-churchmen. They teach false notions of the mercy of God, derogatory to his holiness and justice; they "debase the glory of God's grace, and exalt pride in man." Neglect of the doctrine of perseverance in holiness on the

part of believers takes away the ground of their "comfort and joy." The authoritative documents of Anglicanism form the basis of an argument against these Arminian positions. Particularly striking is the writer's lament:

"The work of conversion (which is the chief end of all preaching) hath been at a stand. Where do we see that men are brought over from the power of Satan unto God, are regenerated, and show the truth of their regeneration by their evangelical obedience?"

The High-Church clergy, it is charged, use the word "schism" as a theological scarecrow.

Boston and the Erskines had much the same feeling as this toward the Scottish Moderates. While this party had not yet become dominant in the General Assembly of the Kirk, it had become influential in theological circles. Professor John Simson, of Glasgow, introduced (c. 1714) views regarded as Arminian, and later (1726) on the doctrine of the Trinity used phrases interpreted as "Arian." Despite a recantation, he was dismissed from his chair (1729), but subjected to no further censure. Boston was so dissatisfied with the mildness of the sentence that he solemnly protested against it.

The conception that Arminianism could bring forth no fruit of conversion, no rescue of men from the power of Satan, was to be rudely challenged by the work of John Wesley, who for the first time in England associated Arminian doctrines with a zeal for souls. Wesley's Evangelical predecessors were stoutly opposed to Arminianism as productive of a spiritless and compromising type of Christianity, without conversion and without repentance.

It would be possible, no doubt, to find in Puritan writers of the seventeenth century virtually all the theological ideas and emphases of the Calvinist Evangelicalism of the eighteenth. Similarly in Baxter, who was of no theological school but, as he said, a "mere Catholic," much may be discovered that anticipates the Evangelical teaching of Wesley. What, then, is the distinctive character of the Evangelical movement, and how is it related to Puritanism? Both movements are of course complicated: each embraces a series of movements; and Puritanism is the more complex of the two. It is

clear that Puritanism was much more concerned with political policies than Evangelicalism ever became. Evangelicalism resembles Pietism here; and Pietism was also one of its tributaries. It was not, however, so purposefully detached from politics as Pietism, and many of its leaders expressed their religious principles in political causes.

The new element in Evangelicalism — and it was not new in any absolute sense — consisted, I think, in the apostolic passion for the regeneration of individual souls and the spread of sincere Christian discipleship. The Evangelical felt the impulse recorded in I Cor. 9:16: "For necessity is laid upon me; yea, woe is unto me, if I preach not the gospel!" In Erskine's phrase, "The great worth of precious souls," was his controlling thought. Evangelicalism was not primarily a reform of churches but an urgent presentation of the gospel call to salvation. The negligent nominal Christian, the scoffer at Christianity, and the heathen cherishing his idols were addressed with equal urgency. It was not a defensive but an aggressive and expansive movement, and its hunger for expansion was without limit. If it leavened established churches and old denominations, it was never content to operate within the hedges of one communion. If it sought to mold the spirit of a nation, it was always ready to carry its message to any nation and unto all the world. It actually passed in succeeding waves over the entire Anglo-Saxon world, everywhere with manifestations of power. It called forth a series of awakenings in many parts of Continental Europe and prompted missions all over the globe. Most of what is significant in the Protestantism of the past two hundred years has either originated in or been revived by the Evangelical Revival. It was not launched by committees: it broke out in private experiences and meetings for worship, surprising leaders and people; and it grew not only as a campaign but as a contagion.

A new spiritual warmth attended the ministries of Boston, the Erskines, and others, but the exciting stage of the Revival was entered upon in the 1730's in America, Scotland, Wales, and England. The first stir in America came, indeed, earlier, with the arrival at Raritan, New Jersey, 1719, of Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen, a

Dutch Reformed minister who had been selected as "an evangelical and pious man," and who with a disturbing passion preached repentance, conversion, and newness of life. Through Gilbert Tennent's association with Frelinghuysen (from 1726) the Revival spread to the Presbyterians of Pennsylvania, and a "spiritual hurricane" reached the flock of Jonathan Edwards at Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1735.

At just the same time, in Holy Week, 1735, a young man of twenty-one named Howel Harris (1714-1773) heard a sermon in the parish church of Talgarth, Brecon, South Wales, which moved him to make a devout preparation for holy Communion. First of all, he made peace with an offended neighbor. He spent months of anguish, however, before he found peace with God. He was induced to go to Oxford to be cured of his fanaticism. But he was unhappy in the unsympathetic environment of the university, and returned to Wales. He now began to exhort people, visiting from door to door, and opened a school. His exhortations became sermons, and were attended by increasing numbers. In the parish of Llangeitho, forty miles northwest of Talgarth, Daniel Rowlands (1713-1790), who was influenced by a dissenting Evangelical minister, Philip Pugh, was surprised to find his preaching becoming strangely effective. The emotional and physical phenomena of revivalism began to appear. During the litany the people not only cried out with tears the response, "Good Lord, deliver us," but some tumbled from their seats to the floor.

Harris became the chief itinerant apostle of the movement in Wales. He passed through strange experiences and was the victim of mob persecutions similar to those Wesley was soon to encounter; e.g.:

"At Newport the mob rushed on us with the utmost rage and fury. They tore both my coat sleeves, one quite off, and took away my peruke, I being now in the rain. *O sweet bareheadedness — under the reproach of Christ.* . . . Soon they halloed again and pelted me with apples and dirt, flinging stones in the utmost rage" (summer, 1740).

The adherents of Harris were often subjected to even greater violence than their leader. There were malicious reports and false charges.

Because they had meetings in the evening, it was charged that they put out their candles and had a "dark prayer" and other deeds of darkness.

It is remarkable that some historians refer to Wesley's conversion, 1738, as the beginning of the Evangelical movement. That event has an importance that ought not to be minimized; but the Erskines, Frelinghuysen, Edwards, Harris, Rowlands, and Whitefield had all begun earlier. The Welsh evangelists, with many lay exhorters, were stirring the people of Wales and organizing societies of the awakened before the new flame warmed Wesley's heart. By the end of his life Harris had been instrumental in founding about 300 of these groups. In 1751 he and Rowlands, in disagreement over the doctrine of the humiliation of Christ, parted company. He had a headquarters at Trevecca, where in 1752 a "household," dubbed a Protestant monastery, was established. It was a community of 120 or more, who had come there to enjoy the ministrations of Harris. Whitefield at various times co-operated with Harris. He had written to encourage him in 1738. In 1748 Lady Huntington established a seminary (School of the Prophets) there, and a year later Wesley visited the place. Fletcher of Madeley was made president of the college; but, owing to disagreements between Arminian Fletcher and Calvinist Harris, he soon resigned the office.

In Scotland the quiet pace of the revival under the Erskines was broken by the events of the secession from the Established Church, in 1733, and by other happenings. At Cambuslang, in 1742, under the ministry of William McCulloch, a strange earnestness on the part of the people appeared, and as he responded by constant preaching various evidences of revival followed. The awakening passed to other parishes; Kilsyth under James Robe, Kilmour Easter, Rosskeen and Nigg, were the scenes of similar phenomena. Ministers from Edinburgh and elsewhere joined in the spreading revival. George Whitefield had been with the Erskines the previous year, but they and the other members of the (Seceders) Associate Presbytery had failed in their effort to attach him exclusively to their group for work in Scotland. He now visited Cambuslang and witnessed, and by his preaching intensified, the excitement there. "It far outdid

anything I ever saw in America," he wrote. "The people seem to be slain by scores." He preached to 20,000 at once, while the Erskines deplored the "Cambuslang Wark" as the effect of delusion. Nevertheless they did not wholly dissociate themselves from Whitefield, and the influence of Ralph Erskine upon Whitefield's theology is attested by the correspondence between them.

III

A conversion experience, decisive and dated, was characteristic of the apostles of Evangelicalism. George Whitefield gave for his conversion the date "seven weeks after Easter" in 1735; it was thus very soon after that of Harris. Whitefield afterward when in Oxford habitually visited the place where the change had come. He had much to celebrate, for he had been through prolonged agony of soul, marked by intense prayer and bodily mortifications, and had suddenly come to deliverance. He testified:

"But O! with what joy, joy unspeakable, even joy that was full of glory, was my soul filled when the weight of sin went off, and an abiding sense of the pardoning love of God, and a full assurance of faith, broke in upon my disconsolate soul."

He felt great gratitude to Charles Wesley for placing in his hands the book that chiefly brought him to this experience, Henry Scougal's *The Life of God in the Soul of Man* (1677). The author, a very gifted Scottish Episcopalian, had died at the age of twenty-eight in 1678. To John Wesley also this book was precious. It is one of the few books of the devout life that outlast the generations. A new American edition appeared in 1948.

Whitefield had entered upon the ministry with compunction and hesitancy, but his superb gifts as a preacher were soon in evidence, and, to quote his own language, he "began to grow a little popular." He possessed a speaking voice melodious and powerful. "I would give a hundred guineas if I could only say Oh! like Mr. Whitefield," said the actor, David Garrick. He is one of the orators of a bygone age of whose addresses we crave a recording. But in his case we

should prefer that it be by television. The philosopher David Hume once heard from his lips these words:

“The attendant angel is about to leave us and ascend to heaven. Shall he ascend and not bear with him news of one sinner reclaimed from the error of his way?”

“And then,” says Hume, “stamping with his foot, and lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, he cried aloud”:

“Stop, Gabriel, stop, ere you enter the sacred portals, and yet carry with you the tidings of one sinner being saved!”

Such forms of expression were natural to Whitefield. He had mastered the art of persuasion, and he had the courage to be dramatic. But Whitefield was more than orator and rhetorician; he was a mighty instrument for the transformation of lives. He added to his preaching many activities. In imitation of Francke, he established an orphanage at Bethesda, Georgia. He continually pursued his ministry by conversation and correspondence. Excessive labor apparently shortened his life. He died when on his seventh visit to America, September 30, 1770. Whitefield remained firmly Calvinistic in theology, wherein he diverged from Wesley. They ceased to co-operate in 1741, but were drawn together later on many occasions and held each other in the highest mutual respect.

John Newton, the son of a sea captain, became a godless, profane, and disreputable sailor, and the captain of a slave ship. After many strange adventures and bitter experiences, he turned to God and renounced his infidelity. “The Lord was pleased,” he testified, “to vouchsafe to me peculiar mercy.” Some months later, on an island off Sierra Leone, he was finally “delivered from the power and dominion of sin” (1748). He took orders and became the effective Evangelical minister of Olney, where his benevolent hospitality was supported by John Thornton, of Clapham, and where he was the friend of the poet William Cowper. He met here also Thomas Scott (d. 1831), who held a neighboring parish, and who for years regarded Newton and all Evangelicals with contempt, while he pursued his scholarly interests to the neglect of his people.

Scott later wrote a narrative of his own experience under the title *The Force of Truth*. Since it is one of the most informing documents of the Evangelical movement, we may here draw from its contents some materials relevant to our purpose.

Scott was so prejudiced against the "Methodists" (this word was applied to all Evangelicals) that he declaimed from the pulpit against them. When Newton visited two dying members of Scott's parish who had been neglected by their pastor, Scott awakened to his duties and began a correspondence with Newton (1775), still, he confesses concealing his true feelings of antipathy to him and trying subtly to draw him into theological controversy. Newton's invincible kindness finally broke down Scott's antagonism, and he became an admirer of Newton. He did not, however, look to Newton for theological light. Scott now began to examine his own motives. He felt grave scruples about subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, since he did not believe the doctrine of coequal persons in the Trinity. He lost a preferment through these scruples — a heavy sacrifice, considering his growing family. Bishop Gilbert Burnet's celebrated book of guidance for ministers, *Pastoral Care*, led him now to re-examine the duties of the ministry, on which he had so thoughtlessly entered. Other helpful reading included Law's *Serious Call*, and especially the discourse on justification in Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* — which contains, one may say, some unexpectedly Kierkegaardian reflections ("The little fruit we have of holiness, it is, God knoweth, corrupt and unsound"). Scott felt greatly drawn to Hooker's teaching, which he thought contemporaries misconceived. He turned to the Anglican *Book of Homilies*, and to his surprise perceived that the very doctrines he had despised as "methodistical" were the standard teachings of the Anglican Church. His preaching took on new emphases, and brought anxious, and embarrassing, inquiries from his hearers. He urged the perplexed to search the Scriptures, while he did so himself, and began a series of lectures on the Bible, for which he prepared with earnest study. He was now in candid quest for light, and as he read and pondered he became convinced of the Evangelical doctrine of the new birth. He began to have interviews with Newton, though still "ashamed to be detected

in his company," and very loath to be charged by his former friends with Methodist enthusiasm. He then read unwillingly an essay of Henry Venn (on Luke 1:67-79), and was struck by these words:

"Abhor as much [as the blasphemy that the Gospel is an imposition] a fawning upon Christ from year to year in your closet, calling him there your Lord and God, and then coming out to consult the world how far they will allow you to obey his plain commands without saying you are, a Methodist."

Scott found himself described here, and condemned. He writes of it with the conviction that the Holy Ghost spoke to him in Venn's words of rebuke:

"It came to my heart with such evidence, conviction, and demonstration, that it lifted me up above the world and produced that victory which faith alone can give."

Thereafter he was "not much troubled by being called an enthusiast or a Methodist."

Stage by stage Scott was led to affirm for himself the doctrines of the Calvinist Evangelicals. Studies in the Bible undertaken in connection with his personal ministry to inquirers, and the reading of an old standard work of Dutch Reformed theology, *The Economy of the Covenants* (1684) by Hermann Witsius, brought him finally to accept the doctrine of election. The Bible passages, he says, "would teach predestination, election, and final perseverance, in spite of all my twisting and expounding." Accordingly, about Christmas, 1777, he began to use these passages "for the consolation of poor, distressed, and fearful believers."

Thomas Scott's *Force of Truth* has been compared with Augustine's *Confessions*. It lacks Augustine's eloquence and mystical elevation, but, like Augustine, Scott was led by his strange spiritual pilgrimage to feel a kind of awe and lasting surprise over the evidence of the personal guidance of the Holy Spirit:

"I consider myself as a singular instance of a very unlikely person, in an uncommon manner, being led from one thing to another, to embrace a system of doctrine which he once heartily despised."

He was at the outset conditioned against the Evangelical beliefs and practices by strong prejudices and great intellectual pride, and also by ecclesiastical connections and self-interest. He carefully analyses the factors uppermost in his experience, emphasizing the sense of obligation to his people, the candid search of the Scriptures, and the effects of prayer. He was struck too by the fact that he had not been instructed by those to whose party he now attached himself. He comes out as an Evangelical first and a Calvinist second. He is not intolerant of those who differ from him on predestination; but he pleads against the indiscriminate use of "enthusiast" and "Methodist" as vilifying terms by persons as prejudiced as he once was.

Scott was to succeed Newton at Olney (1779) and to follow him later to London. His laborious *Commentary on the Bible* was his greatest contribution to the Evangelical cause. But his other writings were widely effective and his personal influence was also great. Cardinal Newman's first religious awakening, as he states in his *Apologia*, came from the reading of Thomas Scott. There were many who held Scott in grateful esteem for the same reason.

Anglican Evangelicalism flowered also in the mystical—and muscular—William Grimshaw (d. 1793), Vicar of Haworth, who was on good terms with Wesley and Whitefield; in William Romaine (d. 1795), for over thirty years in the Church of St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe, London; in Richard Cecil (d. 1810) of St. John's, Bedford Row; and in Charles Simeon (d. 1836), eminent Cambridge leader of the movement. Joseph Milner (d. 1797), Church historian, who professed to discover an Evangelical minority in the Christianity of every age, and his brother Isaac (d. 1820), a gifted mathematician, shining lights at Cambridge University, were also prominent in its ranks. A group, chiefly of well-to-do laymen, formed around Henry Venn (d. 1797), rector of Huddersfield, and his son John (d. 1813), rector of Clapham, was dubbed by the Anglican humorist Sydney Smith "the Clapham Sect." There was nothing sectarian about the Claphamites except their Evangelicalism and their devotion to good causes. Their names include John Thornton (d. 1790), whom G. M. Trevelyan calls "the earliest of the Evangelical mag-

nates," and his son Henry (d. 1815), banker and author of a book of family prayers, men of wealth who were the financial angels of many philanthropies. Other Claphamites were Zachary Macaulay, who once took passage on the slave ship *Mary* to observe conditions (1795); Charles Grant, Scottish Highlander, chairman of the directors of the East India Company; and the great William Wilberforce (1759-1833), celebrated for his long years of distinguished effort, in and out of Parliament, to end the slave trade and liberate the slaves. His reading, at twenty-five, of Doddridge's *Rise and Progress* while on a tour with Isaac Milner was instrumental in his awakening. He came under the spiritual direction of John Newton, then in St. Mary, Woolnoth, London, and counseled also with John Thornton and Henry Venn. Wilberforce was transformed from a gay young blade into a devout Evangelical. He paused in his public labors to write *A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes . . . Contrasted with Real Christianity* (1797), a thoughtful and widely circulated book of Evangelical propaganda. Wilberforce's antislavery crusade is a thrilling tale; it is not to be thought of apart from his devout Evangelicalism. This religious urge set him also upon other high designs. He formed (1787) a society to combat immorality; he attacked Sabbathbreaking. He founded *The Christian Observer* (1801); he led in the foundation of the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804); he lent his aid to schools, Sunday schools, work for prisoners, and many good causes and needy persons.

Of the women prominent in the eighteenth century Evangelical movement, Selina, Countess of Huntingdon (d. 1791), who supported Whitefield and Howel Harris in the formation of the Welsh Methodist Church, and Hannah More (d. 1833), who labored to convert people of the aristocratic and prosperous classes, share an equal eminence. In 1799, Zachary Macaulay remarked that Hannah More while staying at the home of the bishop of London "has a duchess a day to convert." She was praised as a talented and witty writer, but with the growth of her piety she gave up writing plays, and seeing them, and devoted her gifts to religious persuasion. In 1825 she expressed "singular satisfaction" in "the increase of reli-

gion among the higher classes." She also sought to combat the illiteracy and degradation of the poor by instituting "village schools"; but she condemned proposals that higher education be made available to the children of the working class. She was in full sympathy with Wilberforce and the Claphamites on the slavery issue.

IV

The interest of the Claphamites in humane and charitable effort was nothing alien to the Evangelical movement. At the same time the Haldane brothers, Robert (d. 1842) and James Alexander (d. 1851), young Scottish gentlemen, of whom the elder, Robert, inherited considerable property, having gone to sea, were both converted in 1794 in different harbors, and devoted their lives to the gospel at home and abroad. James became a Congregationalist and later (1808) a Baptist. Robert sought to found a mission in India but was prevented by the policy of the East India Company. He had schemes for the Christian education of Africans in Britain, and other projects of evangelization. Napoleon's conquests gave him a great interest in the Continent of Europe. In 1816 he was in Geneva, where he drew many students from the influence of their rationalistic professors. Voltaire had said that the Geneva of his time would execrate Calvin not less than the pope. Robert Haldane was chiefly influential in the institution of the Evangelical Awakening (*Réveil*) in Geneva, and made converts of César Malan and Jean Henri Merle d'Aubigné, students who became leaders of an evangelical revival in the Reformed churches of Switzerland and France. Haldane made a similar effort at Montauban, and paid for the printing and circulation of many thousands of French Bibles.

Robert Haldane had little influence in Scotland; but the Evangelicals in the Scottish Church became more vocal in the 1790's and sought to institute a foreign mission. So far as the Kirk itself was concerned, this was to come later. John Erskine (1721-1803), the most influential of the Evangelicals of this period, remained a personal friend as well as the collaborator in Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh, of Principal James Robertson, chief of the opposing party

of the Moderates, whose personality had dominated the Assembly, 1763-1780. In a later generation the division of sentiment became intensified, leading to the disruption of 1843.

V

In pursuing the story of the Calvinist Evangelicals we have bypassed the greatest of all leaders of the Evangelical Revival. John Wesley, on a fair judgment, has no equal and no rival among them. It is probably safe to assume that to most readers of this book his apostolate is fairly well known. Wesley himself wrote so much, and gave utterance on so many matters of human interest, that the reading of his works is an education in the history of his times. None of the Evangelicals was more alive to the contemporary scene. Yet none of them was more a saint. Measured in terms of increasing devotion to the work that he regarded as laid upon him by God, and of loving care for the men, women, and children whom he aroused to the values of religion, he has a high niche among the saints of the Christian Church. In him sainthood appears, not in ascetic routines or formal works of mercy, but in a prompt and disciplined activity, ready to enter into every situation of opportunity or need, an activity of which, so to speak, the motor fuel was a burning love.

Wesley invites the tabulator of background data. He was vitally related to Anglicanism, Puritanism, and Pietism. He was a part of all that he had read, a man on whom individual books made a permanent impression. Even if he outgrew the *Imitation of Christ* and Law's *Serious Call*, they left a deposit in his spirit; and even if he criticized Luther, he knew himself permanently indebted to the great Reformer. His references to Henry Scougal's precious little book do not indicate that he outgrew that classic. Books by Lord Peter King and Bishop Edward Stillingfleet that he read in his forties guided the grave decision taken in his eighties to ordain to the ministry. Yet on the whole he was an eclectic reader, and his appreciations were critical appreciations. He may have owed more of his equipment to his mother than to any author, and through her to

his Puritan grandfather, Samuel Annesley. When he went about to institute his "Christian Library" in 1748, he consulted Philip Doddridge, for whom (as well as for Watts) he had great respect; and, like Spener, he found help in Baxter. His contacts with the Moravians led to some knowledge of the work of Francke, and he made a highly selective use of Moravian elements in his early organizations.

Like others here noted, Wesley underwent a transforming experience, and it culminated at a point exactly marked as to place and time (May 24, 1738). Some questions have been raised regarding the importance of this experience for Wesley. At any rate, before it he was wretched and almost incapacitated with long anxiety; after it he was an integrated personality with an absorbing purpose to "spread Scriptural holiness"; and less than a year later he said in quiet realization of his function:

"I look upon all the world as my parish; thus far I mean, that in whatever part of it I am, I judge it meet, right, and my bounden duty to declare unto all that are willing to hear the glad tidings of salvation."

Beyond this spiritual release, his sense of call and visitation of power, Wesley's achievement was made possible by his genius for enlisting people's emotional responses and employing their energies in worth-while tasks. Love and zeal were matched with discipline and labor. In particular, Wesley provided, in bands and classes, a vigorous group activity, featuring what the Church Fathers, Reformers, and German Pietist leaders called "mutual edification" and "fraternal correction." In 1748 he stated in his *Plain Account of the People called Methodists*:

"We advised them: 'Strengthen you one another. Talk together as often as you can. And pray earnestly with and for one another, that you may endure to the end and be saved.'"

Wesley liked to affirm that he was "of no sect but of the Church of England." But the Church of England was not encouraging to its loyal apostle. It is fair to say that any Church would have found him

an uncomfortable member. Institutions do not welcome disturbing variants from the accustomed norm and fashion. In time the movement broke the bounds of Anglicanism and went on as a separate communion. But Wesley's influence was not confined to this organization. It has always been vastly wider than the series of churches that sprang from his work. More than in his lifetime the world has indeed become his parish.

Wesley frequently, and clearly, described the principles on which his work rested. He once wrote:

"I have one point in view — to promote, as far as I am able, vital, practical religion, and by the grace of God to beget, preserve, and increase the life of God in the souls of men."

In an amplified entry in his *Journal*, September 13, 1739, he states his view of justification by faith alone and defines sanctification. He repudiates the assumption of others that sanctification is an outward matter of doing no harm and helping our neighbor: it is "an inward thing, namely, the life of God in the soul of man." This phrase is Henry Scougal's title. Scougal had stressed the idea in his first chapter that true religion is "an inward, free, and self-moving principle" (hence rightly understood as a "life"). He goes on to say, in a sentence that both Wesley and Chalmers may have pondered:

"The power and life of religion may better be expressed by actions than by words, because actions are more lively things and do better represent the inward principle whence they proceed."

There was in Wesley a seemingly easy promptness in bringing the inward principle, which was primary, to expression in corresponding actions.

Like Saint Francis and John Wyclif, Wesley was chiefly a messenger to the poor. He distrusted the rich and highborn, sometimes even when they professed religion, and admired the virtues of the poor. He has several statements of this sort:

"In most genteel religious people there is so strange a mixture that I have seldom much confidence in them. I love the poor; in many of them

I find pure, genuine grace unmixed with paint, folly, and affectation" (letter to Dorothy Furlly, September 25, 1757).

After an agreeable visit to a pious home of the nobility, he wrote in his *Journal*, November 17, 1759:

"It is well a few rich and noble are called. O that God would increase their number! But I should rejoice (were it the will of God) if it were done by the ministry of others. If I might choose, I should still (as I have done hitherto) preach the gospel to the poor."

Wesley's ministry was to the poor and neglected folk, whose condition was England's disgrace. They constituted a large proportion of the population, and from them he recruited a great multitude of converts. Under the Methodist discipline they shed their poverty and ignorance. The worldliness that now assailed his followers with their prosperity became a grave problem for Wesley. He was baffled by the results of the thrift that he felt was a natural fruit of true religion. For this he devised a good formula: "Gain, save, and give all you can." If you do not give all you can after you have gained and saved, your prospects of salvation are those of Judas Iscariot. But it was easier to teach people to "gain" and "save" than to "give." His approval still went to the really poor. He wrote to Freeborn Garrettson in America, September 30, 1788:

"Most of those in England who have riches love money—even the Methodists, at least those who are called so. The poor are the Christians. I am quite out of conceit with almost all those who have this world's goods."

Wesley was the only eminent Evangelical leader of his time who was an Arminian in theology. He reacted strongly against the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, and republished Bunyan's *Holy War* "disemboweled" of its predestinarianism. He wrote to Walter Churchey, December 23, 1773: "I do not profess any coalition with Calvinism. I see the mischievousness of it more and more"; and he once wonderingly asked his Swiss ex-Calvinist associate, John William Fletcher (March 22, 1775): "What are the charms of Calvinism? . . . How is it that so many fall in love with her?" Yet there

is much common ground between him and Calvin — a statement that is also true of his master Arminius — and his ethical teaching can hardly be distinguished from that of Puritan writers of the previous century. There is the same intensity of discipline, the same austere budgeting of time, the same view of economic duty, essentially the same cautious treatment of recreation (in Wesley's vocabulary usually "diversions"). With respect to the last named he notes in a late sermon, on I Cor. 12:31 (1787), that brutal sports are going out of practice. He lists bearbaiting among these "foul remains of Gothic barbarity." He is not absolutely opposed to the tragic drama; though he himself cannot attend plays with a clear conscience, "possibly others can." Cardplaying too he will leave to the individual conscience. But he suggests various less questionable "diversions," such as planting trees, music, experiments, visiting the sick, and, above all, prayer.

With all his concern for discipline and good works, the heart of Wesley's message was a fresh presentation of the gospel as joyful tidings of salvation, by the free grace of God, offered to all, and flowing from inexhaustible love:

"This love we believe to be the medicine of life, the never-failing remedy for all the evils of a disordered world, for all the miseries and woes of men" (*Earnest Appeal*, 1743).

To our generation this may seem too simple. Yet some very sophisticated philosophers have come to recognize the primary importance of love, and our fatal lack of it in world society today. Wesley was not the man to exclude thought and planning and co-ordinated action. But he believed that the energy for the combat against "the evils of a disordered world" could be supplied only by an appropriation of the divine redemptive love: and in this he was as wise as he was religious.

VI

During the first half of the nineteenth century, Evangelicalism in Britain had two outstanding leaders, Charles Simeon (d. 1836)

and Thomas Chalmers (d. 1847). True to the type, each had passed through a conversion experience following a period of deep concern. Simeon related that at Easter, 1779, "peace and abundance filled his soul," while Chalmers in 1808 finally found himself wholly committed to be "an ambassador of Christ." More than most Evangelicals, both these men were concerned for the good of the Church as an institution. Simeon was criticized by some Evangelicals for his frank and sincere devotion to the Anglican Articles and *The Book of Common Prayer*. Yet he held this loyalty without bigotry, and did not hesitate to go on an informal preaching tour with the Haldanes in Scotland. He was most of all an impressive Scriptural preacher. He exercised a wide and deep personal influence among young clergymen, and he helped to awaken the foreign missionary interest in Anglicanism. The heroic missionary Henry Martyn was one of his disciples. All the intellectual activities of Simeon centered in the study of the Bible, on which he wrote a complete commentary for preachers.

Chalmers had somewhat broader interests. He had early devoted his talents to mathematics, astronomy, and philosophy, and was later an innovator in establishing agencies to combat city poverty and degradation. Although he led the party of the Disruption of 1843, it was not through the adoption of the principle of separation of the Kirk from the State but as a desperate remedy against abuses that had come to be associated with this relationship. He had earlier written, with England in mind, a defense of endowments for religion. But he would suffer no restraint upon the functioning of the gospel in the Church, no infringement of what he called "the spiritual liberties of the people." The Evangelicalism of Scotland from the Erskines to Chalmers contended for the freedom of the parishes and courts of the Church from secular dictation. In this attitude, though in little else, they were on common ground with the founders of the Oxford Movement. Chalmers employed in his sermons much illustrative material from astronomy, and engaged in philosophical argumentation of a sort shunned by most Evangelicals; yet the convictions that underlie his preaching are those of the Evangelical school. His eloquence was sometimes pompous, but often urgent

with invitation and warning. No one could more forcibly expose the self-deceptions in which we naturally take refuge from duty, and no prophet was bolder in rebuking the rich for their injustice toward the poor. The Bible was always interpreted by Chalmers as making demands upon conscience and calling for social action. "The benevolence of the gospel lies in actions," he declared (1813), not in "the luxury of feeling. . . . You must go to the poor man's bed. You must lend your hand."

In course of the nineteenth century, Evangelicalism within Anglicanism came to form a party defending a platform, rather than a fellowship of apostles and missionaries. This is usually associated with the effects of the Tractarian Movement which treated the Evangelicals with contempt (as "the peculiars"). They were taken off balance, shocked, and surprised. They were now associated, and tended to be identified, with the Low Church party, and they no longer played the aggressive role of former days. Apart from the founding of theological colleges and the support of missions, they expended their energies in combating Tractarianism, often in the courts of law. They were also weakened by the rise of Biblical criticism and of Darwinianism. The great successor of Wilberforce in the party was the (seventh) Earl of Shaftesbury (d. 1885), author of remedial social legislation and worker among the poor of London. But Shaftesbury deplored the decay of the Evangelicals, and reproached them for their disunion and insincerity.

Meanwhile new forces of evangelization were becoming active in many areas. Revivals took place locally from time to time in Scottish parishes during the early decades of the nineteenth century, especially in the Highlands and Islands, where numerous eloquent preachers aroused Evangelical fervor. From 1858, a wave of revivalism from America spread over Britain and northern Ireland. The Scottish churches became more and more Evangelical in temper, while they were also feeling the influence of the new critical scholarship. Professors as well as ministers were well-disposed toward the religious awakenings. Some of Dwight L. Moody's supporters in America were surprised and embarrassed by the readiness of the eminent critical scholar George Adam Smith, when in America in

1899, to fraternize with their leader. British Evangelicalism welcomed and profited by the visits to England and Scotland of Moody and his singing colaborer, Ira D. Sankey, 1872-1885. Moody's simple and powerful call to discipleship, expressed in defective syntax, was heard with eagerness not only in great metropolitan assemblies but in the centers of British learning; and it produced amazing fruit in redirected and dedicated lives. His meetings were scenes of intense but not, as in earlier revivals, vociferous emotion. The impressions made upon many observers were those of astonishment; and recent historians of the era testify to the lasting effect of Moody's work. Many leading figures in the British churches during the subsequent half century were recruited to the service of religion, or invigorated for it, through response to his teaching and appeal. One of those who caught the flame from Moody was Henry Drummond (d. 1897), who exercised a persuasive ministry to students throughout the English-speaking world and by his writings reached a very wide public.

By his *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* (1883), Drummond helped many Evangelicals to a tentative solution of the dilemma of faith and science which had become acute for them as a sequel to the work of Darwin. Evangelicalism had taken the Bible as historically accurate and verbally inspired, and now both science and criticism assailed this position. In the outcome there arose a group of "liberal Evangelicals" who made terms with the new knowledge while others combated it on the authority of Scripture. In America the latter position was known as "Fundamentalism," from the book *The Fundamentals, a Testimony to Truth* (1910), which expounded five "fundamental" doctrines, including the inerrancy of Scripture. In England a new generation of Evangelicals began a series of activities about 1905, led by Guy Warman, later bishop of Truro; F. T. Woods, later bishop of Winchester; and others. They organized (1907) the "Group Brotherhood," which functioned through conferences and literature, and with changed leadership after World War I clarified the liberal Evangelical position. Important here was the conference at Coleshill in June, 1923, which resulted in the formation of the "Anglican Evangelical Group

Movement," to assert the convictions of the old Evangelicals "in the light of current thought." The conference declared:

"We confidently assert our continuity with the Evangelical tradition of the past, among the treasured principles of which we would emphasize the following: the eternal good tidings of the intimate and immediate relation of the believer to God through the redemption of the Lord Jesus Christ and the power of the Holy Spirit; the unique authority of the Bible; the high value of the sacrament spiritually interpreted; the passion to win individual souls for Christ, whether in the parishes at home or in the mission field abroad" (Leonard Elliott-Binns, *The Evangelical Movement in the English Church*, pp. 72 f. New York, 1928).

VII

The Evangelical movement has been characterized by an ecumenical spirit. Denominational traditions and confessional standards have not been allowed to hinder its adherents from sharing in common tasks; and it has always held in mind the world-wide character of Christianity and freely overleaped national borders. It gave birth to the missionary societies and enterprises of modern Protestantism: Carey, Duff, Martyn, Judson, and their fellows were its children. At the foundation of the London Missionary Society, 1795, David Bogue optimistically proclaimed "the funeral of bigotry." Evangelical missions, at any rate, have had a tendency to combat bigoted denominationalism. In 1845 the Evangelical Alliance was formed: a means of intercourse and, within cautiously prescribed limits, of unofficial common action, for many denominations. Its first world conference (London, 1846) was marked by great expectations of Protestant co-ordination. "The divine inspiration, authority, and sufficiency of Holy Scripture" was the first of its nine articles of belief. It played an important role for more than half a century, and helped to prepare the way for the broader ecumenicity of our day. The Student Volunteer Movement was born of Moody's work (1886) and led by John R. Mott, who also helped to promote the World's Student Christian Federation (1895).

The Evangelical movement has been subjected to much criticism,

just and unjust. The "Methodists" in the eighteenth century were satirized by a score of third-rate versifiers. Some of these belonged to "hell-fire clubs" of blatant and blasphemous atheists. They represented the preachers as hypocrites and impostors. Hoxie Neale Fairchild (*Religious Trends in English Poetry*, Vol. II, New York, 1942), discussing this literary attack, remarks that the apostles of Evangelicalism were "greeted by a loud chorus of uncomprehending mockery." His evidence shows that the mockery was seasoned with lies and hatred. Some of the more discreet mockers were clergymen: of these the cleverest and most celebrated was Sydney Smith, who lived to turn his arrows upon the Tractarians. But the Evangelicals were far too obviously sincere and devoted men to be easily laughed out of court, and this type of attack seems to have had little effect. They were open to criticism, however, for a number of characteristic weaknesses and limitations.

Like the Halle Pietists, they tended to lay primary emphasis upon the experience of conversion. While they taught a high doctrine of Scripture, they laid undue stress on a limited range of Scripture passages that offered suggestions for discourses on conversion. It is generally agreed that as a group they lacked depth of scholarship and breadth of reading, and showed little evidence of intellectual power or originality in any field. With a narrow theology, they were not equipped to deal with the nineteenth century surprises of thought presented by the Darwinian view of human origins and the critical study of the Bible. They lacked distinction as writers: no Bunyan or Milton appeared in their ranks, and their books were largely edifying and hortatory tracts on a low literary level. This is no doubt largely a result of their intense preoccupation with practical service and direct persuasion. Scholarship and a writing style require apportionments of time not available in the Evangelical's crowded schedule.

With all the social achievements of Evangelicalism, its basic individualism was not always checked by a social interest. Luther and Wesley had rejoiced to find the grace of Christ as something "for me," and these two words recur often in Evangelical song. The better Evangelicals moved on from this experience rapt in a profound

gratitude that could only find expression in service for others; but there was always the possibility of stopping short of this in a gloating assurance of a privileged status. William Cowper expressed the simple aspiration:

“For me a blood-bought free reward,
A golden harp for me.”

Cowper had psychopathic symptoms, and, in his case, the hope often grew faint and dim. He could describe himself as a storm-driven ship:

“Me, howling blasts drive devious, tempest tost,
Sails ripped, seams opening wide, and compass lost.”

But the former lines indicate a realm of dubious motivation in some of the more robust or egotistic Evangelicals. The same defect is apparent too in the vocational and economic outlook of some. In Doddridge's *Rise and Progress* (xxi, 4) there is a warning against the economic carelessness that will induce bankruptcy:

“Guard therefore, I beseech you, against anything which might tend that way, especially by diligence in business and by prudence and frugality in expense, which, by the divine blessing, may have a very happy influence to make your affairs prosperous, your health vigorous, and your mind easy.”

Wesley expelled from his societies bankrupts who could not show good excuses. As we saw, Wesley found the discipline of his classes making “affairs prosperous” for the Methodists, and anxiously sought to arouse them to the peril entailed in this. But the temptation to worldly smugness has often caught up with those who have learned thrift in the school of religion!

Many of the Evangelicals too exhibited a ruthless severity in amputating from the body of life diversions and pleasures, and excluding from education the seeking of artistic and musical skill; in this they went far beyond the position of typical Puritans. On the other hand, many have been amused at the bright optimism of the Evangelical mind in facing the tasks of religion. In every generation it has hope-

fully projected the rapid winning of the world to the sway of Christ. Wesley exhibits this attitude in his sermon "On the General Spread of the Gospel":

"From Oxford where it first appeared the little leaven spread wider and wider. . . . It spread to North Britain and Ireland, and a few years after into New York, Pennsylvania, and many other provinces in America, even as high as Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. . . . Is it not then highly probable that God will carry on his work in the same manner as he has begun? "

The same spirit in a later day was expressed by the slogan, "The evangelization of the world in this generation." But if this betrays overoptimism, and a failure to appreciate the strength of the antagonist, does it not also testify to a noble grandeur of conception and a religious energy rarely surpassed?

In justice we must recognize limitations and defects in Evangelicalism as a historical expression of Christianity. These do not cancel its vast significance for modern churches and the modern world. The identification of the churches with the tasks of social betterment, and the world mission that has laid the foundation of a Christian Church in the far continents and islands, constitute highly significant elements in the total situation of today, and they are in a very large degree the fruits of this movement.

Inevitably the methods, the theology, and the ethics of Evangelicalism must yield to changes. Its old forms are outworn. But no Christianity that departs wholly from Evangelical ideals will win the battle in this or any future generation. We ought not lightly to cast away its basic conceptions of the Christian task. We need to guard its sense of the importance of the inner transformation of individual lives, along with its emphasis upon socially remedial activity, and readiness to seize the initiative. The Evangelicals had more courage than prudence, which is better than having more prudence than courage. Even excessive optimism is ridiculous only where it is not accompanied by heroic effort, and of this there was no lack. There has been, in fact, a closer relation between hope and achievement in the projects of Evangelicalism than in those of most

other religious or secular movements. We are obliged by the growth of knowledge to leave behind the simple, literal and confident use of scripture texts on which they could rely. Modern study has vastly added to our appreciation of the Bible but has made its language less available as marching orders. Amid the great activity and variety of theology in our day there is little that makes contact with a preacher who like Wesley made it his task "to declare unto all that are willing to hear the glad tidings of salvation." It may be that through perplexity and negation we are moving rapidly toward some form of neo-Christianity that will be so widely and firmly embraced as to be able to proclaim with full assurance to the world the saving faith of Christ. Meanwhile we do well to remember that in the era of its ancient expansion Christianity was presented not as a problem or a paradox, but as joyful tidings and an invitation to souls undone to share in a new and abundant life. With all their limitations the Evangelicals voiced anew this ancient message. More than two hundred years ago Bishop Butler found many of his contemporaries celebrating what they took to be the opening of a post-Christian era. The recovery of Christianity in that generation, and its subsequent strength and expansion, are now indisputable facts of history. If we examine fairly and perceptively the pertinent historical events, we shall not fail to recognize the crucial role, restorative force, and lasting contribution of the Evangelical Movement.

Chapter

4

TRACTARIANISM AND ANGLO-CATHOLICISM

I

Anglicanism in the early nineteenth century exhibited the plight of a Church that had long been under the unwholesome control of secular government. The promise of Magna Charta "that the English Church shall be free and have her rights entire and her liberties inviolate" had not been fulfilled. There were some medieval churchmen who desired the Church's autonomy, but actually it fared ill between the contending jurisdictions of king and pope. Between 1350 and 1570 the papal cause was lost and the royal mastery of the Church was established. Parliament seized control of the Church in 1640 and attempted its complete reconstruction. At the Restoration it recovered its former outlines and became once more the king's Church, but the Revolution of 1688-1689 left it in an unsatisfactory relation to king and parliament. Numerous acts of Parliament affected its status and ministry. Whatever power prevailed, the Church of England was imprisoned in an Erastian system, and, so to speak, beaten almost to unconsciousness by the secular state. In this it shared the fate of Gallican, Lutheran, and Reformed Churches in the age of the enlightened despots, though with its own peculiar marks of ignominy. After 1718, the convocations that had retained some fading dignity from a not inglorious past, but had become contentious and feeble, were discontinued except for *pro forma* meetings held (as Edmund Burke wrote in 1777) for the purpose of "making some polite ecclesiastical compliments to the king." The result was to deprive the Church of its primary organ of corporate utterance and action. Good men resented this repression, but dispersedly and ineffectively. Boswell tells how Samuel Johnson

once broke forth angrily: "Shall the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland have its General Assembly and the Church of England be denied its Convocations?" But the eighteenth century saw no vigorous affirmation of its corporate rights. The very principle implied in Johnson's indignant question seemed largely forgotten.

It was the enfeeblement of the Church as a corporate institution that rendered it unable to deal with the opportunities and perils of the Evangelical movement. The spiritual regeneration which this movement produced in individuals and sections of communities did not affect the Church as a whole. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that there was no "whole" that could have been affected. To many minds the Church consisted essentially of amassed ecclesiastical properties that were utilized to support men in holy orders but were under no unified control. Above this it was for many the conveyor of baptism, and of certain formal ministries, and the custodian of a set of doctrines no longer vividly believed but not to be called in question. It was favorably viewed as a useful instrumentality in government, a makeweight against social change and the fruits of enthusiasm and nonconformity.

Bishops and ministers were appointed under a long-established system of patronage that was highly conducive to the ecclesiastical success of the spiritually unfit. The landed aristocracy and gentry clung to their inherited rights of patronage, and younger sons, not otherwise provided for, might expect opportunities from benefices in the gift of the family. If, however, they were unfit for, or disinclined to perform, clerical duties, they could satisfy the requirements by providing, at a low income, a curate, a man of less fortunate family position and often of questionable education, whose chief tie to his parishioners was the common bond of poverty. The nominal incumbent was thus freed from spiritual duties, and employed the incomes of the parish with notorious irresponsibility. Non-residence in some areas reached almost incredible proportions, and in some parishes the reckless holder of the benefice failed even to provide a curate in his habitual absence. Hannah More found in the neighborhood of Wells a group of thirteen adjoining parishes with no resident minister.

George Crabbe (1754-1832), from experience and observation as a rector in parishes of Suffolk and Leicestershire, described his fellow priests in verse in *The Parish Register* (1807) and in *The Borough* (1810). Crabbe is a kindly observer rather than either reformer or satirist; yet satirical elements enter into his gentle characterizations, and are the more convincing because free from invective. The closing section of *The Parish Register* introduces the aged sexton, "old Dibble," and recites Dibble's description of the five incumbents whose remains he has interred. There was "Master Addle," impressive while he paced the hallowed aisles with his sevenfold surplice over his ample frame, but dozing in the pulpit, where finally he passed away in slumber. Then followed "Parson Peele," who preached from the text, "I will not spare you," and in his exactions practiced what he preached. "Doctor Grandspear," on the other hand, was liberal and rich, and loved to feast his friends and to give away halfworn clothing. The "author rector" who followed is Crabbe himself, who shunned conversation with his people (though he had a liking for vagabonds), was careless of the vestments and devoted to study. The youth from Cambridge who ends the list is a hot Evangelical whose ardor burns out his weak body and leaves him a victim of consumption.

The Borough is in twenty-four parts, called "letters," of which only the second, on the vicar and the curate, is of special interest for us. Crabbe's description of the vicar is that of a Laodicean churchman, indolent, pusillanimous, and studiously inoffensive:

"Now rests our vicar. They who knew him best
Proclaim his life t'have been entirely — rest.
His constant care was, no man to offend . . .
Fear was his ruling passion."

He condemns no sin except that of innovation:

"All things new
He deemed superfluous, useless, or untrue."

Yet he has won the approval of his parishioners — the rich, the poor, the serious — and even of the Dissenters, with whom he has

carefully avoided conflict. The curate is a scholar whose life is crushed by poverty. He lives in a poor hut with a sick wife and nine children, and with pathetic eagerness labors to produce a book.

In plain prose other clergymen of the day supply us with more damaging evidence. Charles B. Tayler (1797-1875), rector of Otley, in *Facts in a Clergyman's Life*, which though published in 1849 reflects experiences of the pre-Tractarian period, describes the grossly inadequate preparation of the ordinand who gets by the examination of the bishop's chaplain, the fleeting emotion felt in the service of ordination, the dullness and idleness of the young curate, who is seen at every dinner party and sometimes in the ballroom and at the race course. After a year this shallow youth goes to an elegant rectory. "He has exchanged the easy indifference of the idle curate for the self-importance and the authority of office of the idle rector." He now develops an interest in church architecture, in apostolic succession, and in abusing the Dissenters. Tayler regrets that many qualified men are obliged to live out their lives as impoverished curates while others quite unfit pass promptly to some important charge.

A mountain of similar information could be compiled. On the other hand, there were faithful and effective pastors of the kind described by Chaucer and Goldsmith, men not of leadership or of notable gifts, indeed, but of exemplary devotion to the duties of their office. They were undoubtedly exceptional, and most of them were under the influence of the Evangelical movement. So far as the Church of England was concerned, the Evangelicals were an embarrassing and embarrassed minority. They were not ecclesiastically minded, but were content to preach the gospel of conversion, to reform their own parishes, to promote missions to the distant heathen in his blindness, and to labor for the liberation of Negroes from slavery. Scarcely at all did they see as their problem the Erastian secularization of the Church of England. Their high seriousness was, of course, a constant testimony against the comfortable triflers who prospered on the incomes of the Church. They wrote a good many second-rate books, thereby exposing to the contempt of the learned their lack of intellectual and academic distinction.

It is often suggested that the Tractarians were transformed Evan-

gelicals, and some of their number had indeed passed through a stage of Evangelicalism. But this is not true of Froude, Keble, or Pusey, to all of whom the Oxford doctrines were but new emphases and turns of interpretation upon basic and inherited convictions. In fact, the debt of the movement to Evangelicalism was largely that of countersuggestion. Intellectually the Oriel scholars were of the Brahmin caste and the Tractarians shared with their more liberal teachers the common contempt of privileged learning for a class to whom high scholarship is denied. The Evangelicals fully accepted the Reformation, from which the Tractarians were repelled, and they fraternized with Dissenters whom the Tractarians placed completely beyond the pale. It is true that Newman himself as a youth was profoundly affected by writings of leading Evangelicals, but he had emerged from these influences before his public career began.

The Tractarians had their antecedents among High-churchmen of the seventeenth century and such later favorers of the "catholic" interpretation of Anglicanism as Alexander Knox (1757-1831) and John Jebb (1775-1833). These Anglicans in Ireland asserted, though incidentally and unsystematically, positions on the sacraments that were substantially those later affirmed by Pusey. Keble, however, in a letter of October, 1838, expressed his displeasure at "Mr. Knox's admiration of Wesley and Co." Knox enjoyed a fruitful acquaintance with Wesley, whose mission he warmly approved; but his interests were more churchly and doctrinal than those of the evangelical apostle. Jebb, who was bishop of Limerick, as early as 1814 saw the possibility that through a persecuted movement there would come "an attachment to the Church as a hierarchy, as distinct from the State, and as dignified only by its intrinsic excellence, by its venerable antiquity and by its apostolic constitution."

II

Meanwhile there was growing evidence of a mounting crisis. The long agitation, successful in 1829, for "Catholic Emancipation"—the extension of citizenship rights and freedom of worship to Roman Catholics—had repercussions affecting Anglicanism. In many it

aroused dire fears of Roman aggressiveness and consequent danger to the Church. A related question was that of curtailment of the extensive and expensive organization of the Established Church of Ireland, which was out of all proportion to its effectiveness. As early as 1824, John Jebb made an eloquent plea for its maintenance, before the House of Lords; but the day of reckoning was to come. Some have supposed that the French situation also had an influence in creating a new concern for the Church in England. In 1816, Lamennais had startled religionists by his *Essai sur l'indifférence*, which assailed the Bourbon regime as having subjected the French Church to debilitating oppression, and poured scorn on the Church of England as the model of secularity. In *L'Avenir*, a periodical which he with others founded, Lamennais called to the clergy to return to a primitive devotion.

Jeremy Bentham, the philosopher of secular liberalism, who looked upon the Church as a usable instrument of the benevolent State, had a wide influence that extended to the politicians. The idea began to gain attention that church revenues might advantageously undergo a redistribution at the hands of the Government. The pressure of the national Government upon the Church had produced a harvest of clerical secularity, and now the secular mind attacked Church and clergy on the secular ground of its excessive cost to the nation. In 1820 appeared anonymously *The Black Book, or Corruption Unmasked*. It was the work of John Wade, a journalist, a disciple of Bentham, and a protagonist of the new class of industrial workers. In 1831, after fourteen thousand copies had been sold, he put out a new and extensively revised edition, *The Extraordinary Black Book*.

In this work of exposure and propaganda, Wade generalizes on the unsatisfactory character of the clergy, who are said to resemble those of the pre-Reformation age, and to have supported every wrong public cause. He piles up statistics, and names names, on the shocking prevalence of pluralism and nonresidence. He attacks the system of tithes as without legal justification, and with tithes he would abolish patronage, which encourages simony and nepotism — of which offenses he cites numerous instances. He holds that the

Church's property, like that of the Army, should be kept in the control of the Government. His most popular argument lies in the charge that the Church is inordinately and injuriously wealthy ("a monstrous overgrown Croesus"), costing the country vastly more per capita than established Churches on the Continent and in Scotland, while its revenues go mainly to idlers who leave shamefully underpaid the "laboring bees" who substitute for them.

This vigorous and well-armed attack is of historical interest not only as the most important manifesto of its kind but because of the attitude to the establishment which it was calculated to evoke. Wade professes a desire not to cripple the Church but to reform it. But churchmen feared that it would produce a specific project for snatching the property of the Church, covetousness gaining its ends in the angelic guise of reform. A vague apprehension of this was in the air. It is well seen in a striking discourse of the Scottish Evangelical, Thomas Chalmers, in London (1829), *On the Use and Abuse of Literary and Ecclesiastical Endowments*, which contained denunciation of the "calculators and economists" who threatened the Church of England with "a truly Gothic spoliation."

Various reform proposals were being presented. In January of the fateful year 1833, one appeared from the pen of Thomas Arnold. This may be thought of as an ineffective Broad Church project that might have been the substitute for Tractarianism. Its appeal is to reason and good will, not to doctrine and tradition. Arnold would not confiscate the Church's wealth but devise ways of using it in the religious interests of the English people. By a revision of the Articles and liturgy he hoped to attract Nonconformists. He would have a bishop in every large town, and set up active diocesan assemblies. The ministry would be so distributed as "to provide in every parish the constant residence of one individual who has no other business than to do good of every kind to any person."

Numerous similar proposals then made for a new approach to Nonconformists are perhaps motivated by the fear that the latter would make common cause with the secular party of would-be reformers by confiscation. But a group of Oriel College scholars were about to launch a highly surprising series of tracts through which

they would seize the initiative from Broad Church liberalism and assert High-Church doctrines with startling absolutism and uncompromising insistence.

III

Historians have brought to notice a dozen men whose views, expressed before 1833, show a strong resemblance to those of the Tractarians. This is really a testimony to the continuity of conceptions of the Church and the sacraments that were not uncommon in the seventeenth century but had rarely found expression amid the rationalism and Evangelicalism of the eighteenth. Whatever names may be associated with the background of the Oxford Movement, no one before John Keble can in any respect be looked upon as its founder.

Keble was an academic prodigy and a gentle, unassuming, cheerful, and brotherly soul, beloved by those who knew him, and exerting a quiet influence upon them. He was the son of a Gloucestershire vicar, won a double first class in Oxford, and at nineteen was elected a fellow of Oriel College (1811). This was eleven years before Newman gained that honor at the age of twenty-one. Richard Whately was at first Keble's most distinguished colleague, a brilliant liberal and dialectical defender of heretics, who later became archbishop of Dublin. Almost his equal, and a more circumspect thinker, was Thomas Arnold, who became master of Rugby in 1827. It may have been in part from a distaste for Whately's robust and confident assertion of unorthodox views that Keble chose to spend long periods in Devonshire villages where he could dance with, or preach to, the people with equal acceptance. Keble never was either a ponderous scholar or an austere saint. In 1827 appeared his celebrated book of poems, *The Christian Year*. It was something that the festivals of the Christian year should receive attention at all, but more significant that they were celebrated in memorable verse that soon had a wide circulation. The book set a new orientation of Christianity, honoring as it did old and half-forgotten traditions of the Church, not in the manner, but in the true spirit, of seventeenth century Anglican devotional poetry.

One who peruses the extensive published sermons of Keble will find little of a strongly controversial sort. But his assize sermon of July 14, 1833, on "National Apostasy," was a fighting discourse. The text was I Sam. 12:23, where Samuel says reproachfully to the people who have insisted on having a king, "God forbid that I should sin against the Lord in ceasing to pray for you: but I will teach you the good and the right way." Keble saw a godless and alarming trend in public policy. Wellington's ministry had been succeeded by that of Lord Gray. The Reform Bill of 1832 suppressed the "rotten boroughs" and enfranchised many industrial workers. It was followed by the election of a predominantly Whig parliament. The new secretary for Ireland devised the Church Temporalities Act, and this had the substantial approval of Whately, who had recently (1831) been made archbishop of Dublin. The act took no property from the Church of Ireland, while by the reduction of the number of dioceses it set free large sums for church construction and repair and to augment the stipends of ill-paid priests. But it was opposed by the Irish bishops because it suppressed the feeble dioceses and incorporated them in neighboring ones. To Keble, this was a wicked intrusion by a profane government in the affairs of the Church, and dramatic evidence of widespread apostasy. That the Tractarian Movement took its rise from this utterance is the statement of Newman, and it offers a convenient beginning date.

But the recoil against secular liberalism and Erastianism was already finding spokesmen. Newman had been preaching in a similar vein in St. Mary's, Oxford, and Hugh James Rose, vicar of Hadleigh, a Cambridge man, was editing a new journal, *The British Magazine*, to which Newman and Keble were contributors.

IV

Another personality of great force among the Tractarians was Richard Hurrell Froude. The son of an archdeacon, whom another son described as a High-churchman of the old school, Froude since 1821 had been a pupil of Keble, and had gained an influence over

his tutor. Newman in his *Apologia* has well described Froude's personality and relation to the movement.

"I knew him first in 1826, and was in the closest and most affectionate friendship with him from about 1829 until his death in 1836. He was a man of the highest gifts."

Having referred to his "gentleness," "playfulness," "free elastic force and graceful versatility," Newman calls him

"a man of the highest genius, brimful and overflowing with ideas and views, in him original, which were too many and strong even for his bodily strength. . . . He professed openly his admiration of the Church of Rome and his hatred of the Reformers."

Tradition, as against the sole authority of Scripture, devotion to the Virgin Mary, and interest in saints and miracles were prominent in his conversation. "He was," says Newman, "powerfully drawn to the Medieval Church, but not to the Primitive. . . . He taught me to look with admiration towards the Church of Rome, and in the same degree to dislike the Reformation." Ebullient and sure of his opinions, Froude liked to pronounce judgments in unmeasured language, yet he was genuinely self-critical and devout. His repeated reading after 1826 of a diary kept by his mother, who had died in 1821, led him to realize that his early inconsiderateness had been a great trial to her, and to seek to tame his naturally assertive disposition. The record of his mother's concern and prayers for him moved him deeply. In his own journal he refers frequently to this:

"I did not recollect that I had been so unfeeling to her during her last year. . . . Everything I see in it [the diary] sends me back to her in my childhood: it gets such hold of me that I can hardly think of anything else."

His papers show too his penitence for a failure to appreciate the place of his father "as a type of the Almighty upon earth." Belated regret for unfilial conduct was thus a factor in the development of his religious personality. His exaggerated self-criticism reminds us, indeed, of typical Puritan diaries of the seventeenth century.

A disturbing fascination was exercised by this young scholar, with his blazing anger at Reformers and Evangelicals and his tender devotion to the miracle-working saints of the Middle Ages. John Henry Newman was two years Froude's senior, but it was Froude who impelled him on the course he was to follow. Newman came to Oxford a sixteen-year-old Protestant. His father, a London banker (whose bank had recently failed), and an admirer of Franklin and Jefferson, once said, "I do not pretend to be a religious man." But his mother was the devout descendant of a Huguenot family. John Henry's two brothers in different degrees showed the influence of their father, while he felt more that of his mother. On reading *The Arabian Nights*, he wondered, like many another boy, whether all life might be only a dream. He read books of the Evangelicals, of William Romaine and Thomas Scott and John Newton. Newton persuaded him that the pope was Antichrist, and Scott more profoundly stirred his spirit with phrases such as "holiness rather than peace" or "growth the only evidence of life." Newman in 1864 called Scott "the writer . . . to whom (humanly speaking) I almost owe my soul." Under these influences in 1816, he was conscious of an experience of conversion, and of the adoption of "a definite creed," which was Calvinistic. Yet the experience was accompanied by the un-Protestant decision that in accordance with God's will he would "lead a single life."

At Trinity College, Oxford, Newman was an austere and studious youth. In 1822 he became a fellow of Oriel. For five years thereafter he was a member of Whately's circle and his Evangelicalism was tempered by Liberalism. There were periods of deep religious anxiety, as shown by his correspondence with his mother. He was not to be satisfied with the liberalism of Whately, but shrank from its implications, and listened with fascination to the boldly expressed contrary opinions of Hurrell Froude. Froude prided himself on the fact that he brought Keble and Newman to mutual recognition and co-operation. At the same time Keble's *The Christian Year* (1827) impressed Newman with new thoughts of the Church's customs and traditions. An illness deepened his concern, and led to his study of the Church Fathers (1828). He was strongly drawn to

the mystical and allegorical doctrines of the Alexandrians, and delighted in speculations on the angels. He had turned quite away from the Evangelicals of his own generation on the ground that "they played into the hands of the Liberals." If his soul was brought to life by the testimony of Scott and the Evangelicals, it now found its nourishment in other fields.

Newman's journey with Froude to Italy, 1832-1833, accentuated these impressions and rendered them vital. It was a time of liberal revolutions in Europe, and of the English Reform Bill and the Irish Temporalities Act, and Newman's heart was sick. "It was the success of the Liberal cause," he wrote, "that fretted me inwardly." This was the "encircling gloom" amid which he prayed for "kindly light" to lead him on into courageous service toward the restoration of the Catholic life of the Church of England. He reached England five days before Keble's famous sermon, Froude having preceded him.

V

After some correspondence with Keble and Newman, Froude and two others interested met with Rose in his parsonage at Hadleigh, Suffolk (July 25-29, 1833). Froude here showed complete dissatisfaction with the course favored by the others, of working for the rights of the Church through ecclesiastical channels. However, an address from the clergy to the archbishop of Canterbury was circulated, which received a surprising number of signatures. But Froude had earlier, in Trinity Gardens, Oxford, laid his hand on the shoulder of his friend Isaac Williams (a learned convert of Keble from an irreligious life) and exclaimed, "Isaac, we must make a row in the world." In this spirit, Newman, without waiting for the approval of the Hadleigh group or anyone else, began the series of daring manifestos entitled *Tracts for the Times*, September 9, 1833. The series was to end with the long and startling Tract 90, January 25, 1841. Of the ninety, twenty-nine were written by Newman, including the first and the last.

Midway in the production of the Tracts the movement was in-

vigorated by the accession to its ranks of an eminent scholar. Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800-1882), fellow of Oriel and Regius Professor of Hebrew, had a High-Church Tory background and a German training. One of the early Tracts (on fasting, December 21, 1833) was by him, but he did not attach himself to the group until 1835, when he brought to Newman a learned tract, indeed a treatise, on Baptism. In the following year he projected and began his *Library of the Fathers* in English, wishing to encourage the Tractarians by showing "that the Fathers are behind them." Newman welcomed the distinguished recruit, all the more eagerly because he was growing weary with the labor of the Tracts, but largely because of Pusey's reputation and scholarship: "He at once gave to us a position and a name." In some of the Tracts, Newman and other writers had made considerable use of Patristic extracts. The requirements of controversy were here, as often elsewhere in the history of the Church, the stimulus of a new historical scholarship. A new attention to the Fathers, with a rising sense of their authority, is one of the early fruits of the movement.

Along with the Fathers came the seventeenth century High-Church divines. Froude, who had no interest in Patristic studies and cultivated a contemptuous avoidance of the Reformers, pronounced encomiums upon the seventeenth century exponents of high doctrines of the Church. Newman, in his important Tract 38, *Via media*, remarks, "In the seventeenth century the theology of the divines of the English Church was substantially the same as ours." In proof that the trend of the Tracts is not "popish" he adds that this theology then "experienced the full hostility of the papacy." In his *Apologia* he observes that the aim of the group was "a new Reformation — a return not to the sixteenth century but to the seventeenth." In addition to the *Library of the Fathers* there soon appeared (1841) a *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*, which contained the works of selected seventeenth century churchmen. Keble had led the way to this by his still valuable edition of Hooker's works (1836). Such seventeenth century scholars as Launcelot Andrews, William Laud, John Cosin, Herbert Thorndike, Jeremy Taylor, and George Bull offered genuine support for many of the Tractarian positions.

VI

The Tracts of 1833 were collected and published in a volume in 1834 with a preface in which it was stated that their object was the revival of doctrines held by the great divines of the Church of England but recently "obsolete with the majority of her members." These include apostolic succession, and the doctrine that "the sacraments, not preaching, are the sources of divine grace." Methodism and popery are foster mothers of the Church's abandoned children. The revival of these doctrines will establish a union of true Christians against "the extension of popery." This alarm against "popery" is much stressed in the early Tracts; perhaps not the less because Newman was aware that an opposite intention might be ascribed to his teaching. "I expect to be called a papist when my opinions are known," he wrote, November 22, 1833. Several of the Tracts stress the importance of the doctrine of the divine authority of the Church as a means of maintaining the Church of England against the papacy. God, he observes, in Tract 20,

"has wonderfully preserved our Church as a true branch of the Church Universal, yet withal preserved it free from doctrinal error. It is Catholic and apostolic, yet not papistical."

To the members of other communions the Tractarians gravely award an inferior citizenship in the Kingdom of Heaven, or else frankly exclude them therefrom. Newman declines in any "false charity" to exempt the Scottish Presbyterians from the condemnation of the Samaritans implied in the words of Jesus, "Ye worship ye know not what: we know what we worship." There is a graduated scale of divine favor, the Protestant sects "lie between us and heathenism," and the grades descend through Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, the North American Indians (theists), to polytheism. What is called an orthodox sect has a portion of that divine favor which is withheld from heresy (Tract 47).

The superiority of Anglicanism was made to rest largely upon the affirmation of the apostolical succession of its bishops. In two Tracts (29, 30) on Christian liberty by a layman (John W. Bowden)

there runs a dialogue between a rector and a parishioner who has been attracted by the earnest preaching of a Dissenting minister. The rector leads the erring one to ask, "Who are these successors of the apostles in our country?" and receives the simple answer, "The bishops of the Church of England are they" — and Dissenters have no such claim. Later it is explained that, while papists are called Catholics, "it is we that are the true Catholics."

The Reformation era had produced the main official statements of Anglicanism. The Tractarians felt obliged to explain these documents and not to repudiate them. Newman's argument (38) is that the Thirty-nine Articles are not a body of divinity but a protest against certain errors; hence their omission of doctrines now stressed that belong to "the *whole* gospel." It has been frivolously stated "that we have Calvinistic articles and a papist liturgy." The real distinction is that the liturgy is from the apostles and the Articles are polemical. Other points are now to be stressed: "Times are changed. We are in danger of unbelief more than of superstition." Something was added to this pattern of thought in the elaborate argument of Tract 90, "Remarks on Certain Passages in the Thirty-nine Articles," with which the series came to a dramatic close.

Here not only the Prayer Book but the Articles themselves are treated as, in the slightly modified language of Ralph Chillingworth, "patient though not ambitious of a Catholic interpretation." Newman had already "begun to wish for union" with Rome, and to urge his friends to pray for this. His recently converted associate William George Ward, a man whose qualities resembled those of the now deceased Froude, seems to have urged him to write this essay, and Keble approved it before it went to the printer. But, to the author's astonishment, it shocked the Anglican public far more violently than any previous Tract.

Tract 90 is, indeed, a surprising piece. Newman is not interested in what the framers of the Articles wanted them to affirm, but in making them affirm, or rather permit, doctrines acceptable to Roman Catholics. A good example is the treatment of Article xxii, which condemns as "repugnant to the Word of God" the Romish doctrine of purgatory, worship of images, and adoration of saints. It is

said that the doctrine of purgatory, images, etc., that is condemned is not the primitive doctrine of these, nor the Catholic doctrine, nor that of the Council of Trent, but something else called *doctrina Romanensium*, which is rather vaguely treated by references to medieval tales. Although Newman argues that in interpreting the Articles "we have no duties toward their framers," he points out that they were framed before the decisions of the Council of Trent and could not have been designed to contradict these. He also argues that the Articles were "principally drawn" (!) from the writings of Melancthon, who was charged with "popery"; that they were so framed as to "leave open large questions" and "to comprehend those who did not go so far in Protestantism" as their compilers.

Why this new attempt to find accord with Rome? His Anglicanism had formerly been confidently superior to Romanism. But here is Anglicanism tested by, and brought into a highly uncomfortable accord with, Roman beliefs. Since the autumn of 1839, Newman was, as he put it, "a man who has seen a ghost." The specter was presented by an article on "The Anglican Claim," by Nicholas Patrick (later Cardinal) Wiseman in *The Dublin Review*. To this learned Irishman born in Seville, the "Anglican claim" was as groundless as that of the Donatists of old. The article contained an apt quotation from Saint Augustine in condemnation of the Donatists, a phrase of which was singled out by a friend of Newman and forced upon his consideration: "*Securus judicat orbis terrarum*"—the whole world is a safe judge. Newman did not have the protection of T. A. Lacey's able treatment of the Augustine passage (*Catholicity*, 1914, Appendix B) with his suggestion for turning the argument against Wiseman. Dr. Lacey rightly points to the incidents of April, 1833, reported in Froude's papers (*Remains* I, 306) which Keble had published. Newman and Froude when in Rome consulted Dr. Wiseman and asked of him the terms of admission to the Roman communion. The reply, as stated by Froude, required at the outset unqualified acceptance of "the atrocious Council of Trent." Froude was so offended that at the time he "wished for the total overthrow of their system."

In the *Review* article Wiseman was giving the same answer in

another form. The Roman Church is *orbis terrarum*: it speaks with the voice of the true Church in all the world. The Church of England is a detached fragment, severed from the realm of grace. This is Newman's ghost. "The *via media*," he says, "was absolutely pulverized." The ghost quite softened Newman's tone toward Rome. His adherents felt this change in him, and the more impetuous of them hastened to Rome before him. This embarrassed and grieved him. He was weary, hypersensitive, and discouraged. He had fought a hard battle, laboring over the Tracts and keeping up a series of sermons in St. Mary's Church that some felt to be even more influential than the Tracts themselves. As a preacher he had shown an almost mesmeric power of persuasion. He had acquired a large student following, and from Ward, who had been converted to Tractarianism by his preaching, the undergraduates took up the habit of reciting with fervor a new creed — "*Credo in Newmanum*." But now the leader could not lead, or restrain, his admirers. His old ecclesiastical convictions were being dissolved. At the same time Liberalism was aggressive and terrifying. Something must be tried. Tract 90 was a venture in high strategy. Could Anglicanism be revived and unified on the basis of a recognition of Rome as the true Church? Newman had observed that he was as one who proves a cannon, knowing that it may explode disastrously.

The cannon exploded. Anglicanism had strength enough to utter a thunderous, "No." The argument of the Tract was not only unconvincing, but shocking and exasperating. Even today its interpretations leave the reader bewildered. It is not surprising that many thought it dishonest. A similar treatment of the Ten Commandments would utterly undermine morality.

The Heads of Houses who governed the university condemned the Tract as having "evaded rather than explained" the Articles. The bishop of Oxford induced Newman to discontinue the Tracts. Individual disciples preceded him to Rome: we need not here follow the process by which he became prepared to follow them. He had already reached the end of the road as an exponent of Anglicanism, and now he was repudiated by the Church. Not collectively, but in personal utterances, most of the bishops unequivocally condemned

the Tract and its author. Wounded and defeated, Newman allowed every fresh experience to carry him on toward the scene of October 9, 1845, when Father Dominic of the Passionist Order, the son of an Italian peasant, received the great convert into what the latter now called "the One Fold of the Redeemer."

VII

The Oxford Movement had enlisted a man of more steadfast churchmanship than Newman and of greater boldness and originality than Keble. The burden of leadership now fell upon Edward Bouverie Pusey. Pusey was unshaken in his Anglicanism, because, unlike Newman, while advocating apostolic succession in the episcopate, he had never counted upon the living English bishops to support the movement. Instead, he fundamentally "trusted the Church of England." He had never felt the inclination to go to Rome for refuge from the untoward conditions in the Church of his fathers. He was now to become the central figure in the movement, and to fix its impress upon the Church. Although it is an Oxford scholar who is now to guide the course of the movement, Oxford is no longer to have the unique importance in it that was so marked in the beginning. The whole Church is now concerned with it, and it calls forth a response also in other churches of Britain, the British dominions, America, and Continental Europe. From the time of Newman's departure from Oxford (1843) we may conveniently speak, not of the Oxford Movement, but of the Anglo-Catholic Revival.

Pusey had been among the first Englishmen to come into contact with nineteenth century German theological scholarship. He returned from Germany in 1827 equipped by Old Testament studies. He moderately defended his German teachers against the warnings of Hugh James Rose, but subsequently found himself largely in accord with Rose and in full revolt against the rationalism and theological indifference of the Germans. A laborious worker, Pusey came slowly before the public, and was not well known personally even to those who admired his learning and devout conduct. As a scholar

he outclassed the other Tractarians. The death of his wife (who had worn herself out in charities and as his secretary) in 1839 caused him to retire into a life of seclusion and great austerity. He regarded her death as a punishment upon him for his sins. He held himself inferior to all whom he met, wore haircloth, ate unappetizing food, and when he lay down in bed, made a point of remembering that he was unworthy to lie anywhere but in hell. Yet he was gentle and tender toward his three (surviving) children and beloved by them. Through his writings Dr. Pusey became the highly respected exponent of doctrines and practices by which Anglicanism was being gradually transformed into something widely different from what it had been. Pusey was not, needless to say, the sole agent in this transformation, but his part in it was an indispensable one. He was, as Newman said, "a man of large designs."

One of his designs was the restoration of ascetic community life. The idea had been awakened in other minds. Nicholas Ferrar in the seventeenth century and William Law in the eighteenth had dreamed of such a revival, and in some degree engaged in the practice of group asceticism. During the French Revolution refugee French Roman Catholic nuns and monks of different orders formed communities in England, and were admired for their devotion and charity. Robert Southey the poet wrote in 1829, on returning from the Continent where he had observed ascetic women engaged in services to the people: "Thirty years hence . . . England may have its Beguines and its Sisters of Charity. It is grievously in need of them." Pusey's daughter Lucy (d. 1844) early expressed an intention of entering a sisterhood. In 1839, Pusey discussed the matter with Newman, who agreed that the Church of England should have Sisters of Charity; and he later freely expressed this view in ways that called forth numerous inquiries from devout ladies. To one of these, Marian Rebecca Hughes, he administered a vow of chastity in 1841. When Southey died in 1843, Lord John Manners proposed as a memorial to him the establishment of a Sisterhood of Mercy. Authorization was secured from the bishop of London. Pusey himself made a handsome gift of money for a building near Regent's Park. A good many besides Pusey were now eager to see the up-

growth of ascetic communities, and monastic ideals were already being advocated by Isaac Taylor, John Mason Neale, William Ewart Gladstone, and other prominent sympathizers with Tractarianism. Yet none took the initiative in the matter as Pusey did. He collected foreign Roman Catholic books on the subject, visited houses of nuns in Ireland, and through friends procured information on orders in France. Miss Hughes herself visited Normandy for this purpose.

In promoting sisterhoods, Pusey had the co-operation of Lydia Sellon, a naval captain's daughter and a woman of great energy and Catholic devotion, who had paid a visit to Pusey's London foundation in 1847. Miss Sellon with courage and enterprise engaged in the reclamation and education of neglected children ("little savages") and gathered about herself a sisterhood at Devonport and Plymouth — "the Church of England Sisterhood of Mercy" (1848). Pusey kept in close touch with both the communities, and heard the confessions of the Sisters, who called him "Father." Charges regarding Catholic ceremonies were made against Miss Sellon and Dr. Pusey, but were dismissed on investigation by the bishop of Exeter as referring to acts not out of accord with the Prayer Book. But calumnious rumors persisted, and it was necessary to deny in the *Times* that Pusey and the Lady Superior had been married. The Sisters recovered the good will of the people by their heroic service during a cholera epidemic. Troubles, however, continued to disturb the Sisterhood. Very "high" elements of ceremonial were introduced, and the household was not always in accord. One nun so starved herself in Lent, 1851, that she died, having first received extreme unction from a Scottish bishop. There were secessions to Rome, and one girl was actually abducted for her salvation by one of the seceders; she soon escaped. For many years Miss Sellon lived in a storm of rumored and published accusations. Expansion in numbers led to elaboration of the rules, and a damaging attack was made by Margaret Goodman, who withdrew from the house on account of alleged harsh austerity, cruelty, and hypocrisy (1861). Miss Sellon's biographer, T. J. Williams, implies the falsity of these charges, but one who reads Miss Goodman's two books will wish that he had dealt more substantially with their contents.

Other Sisterhoods arose without Pusey's personal co-operation. Thomas Carter at Clewer established an institute for the recovery of prostitutes, and John Mason Neale formed St. Margaret's Sisterhood (1856) at East Grinstead, a nursing society serving in the homes of the people. St. Margaret's opened branches and schools in many places and became an important agency in religiously motivated social service. The Roman Catholic Sisters of Charity founded by St. Vincent de Paul, and the Lutheran deaconess order founded by Theodor Fliedner, were among the models that had influence in its development. These and various later sisterhoods and houses of nuns in Anglicanism offered new opportunities of religious discipline and service for many women who would otherwise have led ineffective and frustrated lives.

Orders of men were advocated and introduced rather later. Clerical celibacy was favored by the Tractarians, and at a late stage before his conversion, Newman gathered a small celibate community at Littlemore. Under Pusey's influence John Leycester Syne ("Father Ignatius") established a house of men that was an Anglican modification of the Benedictine Order: later a nunnery was added. Another Benedictine organization, having settled at Calday Island, seceded in a body to the Roman obedience (1913). The Society of St. John the Evangelist, founded at Cowley (hence "Cowley Fathers") by Richard Meux Benson in 1866, designedly held in balance the contemplative and active phases of devotion; it has been concerned in foreign missions. The Community of the Resurrection, founded by Charles Gore in 1887, has been likened to the French Oratory, and like the latter has had intellectual distinction. Gore, Henry Scott Holland, and others were at this period to impart to Anglo-Catholicism a new spirit of social concern which has been a mark of the movement ever since.

VIII

Robert Isaac Wilberforce, son of the eminent Evangelical William Wilberforce to whom the slaves of the British dominions owed their emancipation, is regarded by Eugene R. Fairweather in his

valuable source book of the Movement as its most accomplished theologian. In *The Doctrine of the Incarnation* (1848) Wilberforce presents in attractive form and without harsh polemics the characteristic emphases of the Tractarians: Incarnation, Mediation, sacramental grace, the priestly ministry and apostolic succession in the episcopate. The church is the mystical body of Christ in which Christians participate through common worship. The Eucharist, he argues with the aid of Irenaeus and the seventeenth-century Anglican Joseph Mede, is truly a sacrifice, an oblation offered to God. The sacraments are likewise "channels to the faithful of those supernatural gifts whereby God renews the soul."

Pusey shared these doctrines, and it was he who most boldly and effectively urged a revival of the neglected sacrament of penance. His sermon, *The Holy Eucharist a Comfort to the Penitent*, 1843, advocating the corporeal presence, was published with an array of supporting quotations from Anglican divines. In 1853 he preached eloquently on *The Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist*. His doctrine of the bodily presence, as he was careful to point out repeatedly, was presented with a view to "the comfort of the penitent."

fession is supported from the Prayer Book and Homilies. It is argued that we may not infer from the provision for confession in the office of Visitation of the Sick that Anglicans are "bound to defer to a deathbed what they know to be good for their souls." The strife continued, and with it the growth of confession and absolution. Pusey made selective use of Roman Catholic interpretations of the confessional, and in 1877 he published a translation of the Abbé Jean Joseph Gaume's *Manual for Confessors*, a compilation from Roman Catholic authorities. Elements of Mary worship and other unacceptable features were excluded from the edition, and it was accompanied by a long preface supporting the confessional by citation of Anglican documents and of divines from Cranmer to Keble.

Pusey and his associates did not shrink from battle and their lives were lived in the stress of controversy. But there was emerging an increasing concern for reunion, and many of those who did not follow Newman and Ward to the Roman fold still sought a basis of agree-

ment with the papacy. Although Newman had abandoned the *via media* conception of Anglicanism when he wrote Tract 90, Pusey retained the *via media* while always defending Tract 90 in substance. But, in distinction from Newman, Pusey always favored mutual accord and ultimate reunion with the Greek Church. William Palmer, an early Tractarian, gave great attention to this matter, awakening a growing acquaintance particularly with the Russian Church by his historical studies.

Cardinal Wiseman encouraged Anglo-Catholics to look hopefully for a response from Rome, and favored the formation in 1857 of the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom; but the published organ of the Association proved a battleground, and Roman Catholics were forbidden to hold membership in the organization (1864). The former Anglican, Cardinal Henry Edward Manning, took occasion soon afterward to speak of the Church of England as "the Mother of all the aberrations" of the time. Dr. Pusey's reply to this grew into the first *Eirenicon* which took the form of a letter to Keble (1865). As the full title indicates, it presents the Church of England as "a portion of Christ's only Catholic Church and a means of restoring visible unity." A second and a third *Eirenicon* followed (1869-1870), each addressed to Newman, who had attacked the first unmercifully. Pusey had suggested that not only the Articles but the decisions of Trent required "interpretation," and had not failed to assail elements in the Roman Catholic cultus. The Vatican Council's declaration of papal infallibility, 1870, quite discouraged Pusey from further approaches to Rome. Meanwhile John Mason Neale had been instrumental in founding the Eastern Church Association (1863). This was the beginning of a fresh interest in Eastern Orthodoxy, which has grown in Anglicanism with the lapse of time.

IX

The Tractarian Movement and its outcome in Anglo-Catholicism gave expression to realities of religious experience and tradition that the children of the Reformation had repudiated or ceased to prize. Like the Evangelicals before them, the Tractarians assailed the spirit

of secularity with zeal and courage. The leaders were saintly men, following their consciences at any cost. They were "saintly" too in the ascetic sense, and their devoutness strengthened their cause. They set themselves to win converts, not benefices, and often exhibited a beautiful unworldliness. Even if they gave utterance to prejudiced judgments, they endured prejudice and misunderstanding from others without becoming soured. The flippant anathemas of Froude were not characteristic of the constructive leaders. They brought to their Church and other Churches a new awareness of the value of disciplined devotion, a new consciousness of the importance of the sacramental, and an emphasis (especially in *Lux Mundi*, 1889, an Anglo-Catholic symposium to combat impressions made by science and criticism) upon the doctrine of the incarnation. Their high doctrine of the Church and the ministry, though couched in terms unacceptable to a majority of thoughtful Christians, had a beneficial impact upon Christianity in general, creating everywhere a revival of a feeling for the Holy Catholic Church as in each denomination it was affirmed. A bishop who did not favor their ecclesiastical ideals confessed: "They have been the chief instruments in reviving the study of sound theology . . . they have raised the standard of the ministerial character." This result appeared in all parts of the Anglican communion, and was carried far beyond its limits.

The weaknesses of Anglo-Catholicism are, however, patent. It began in fear of secularism and was long haunted by fear. It shrank in dread from Biblical criticism and evolutionary science as Newman (who never read a line of Kant), fearing for his soul, had turned his back upon "liberalism." They unduly minimized the service of reason to religion. The use they made of history was not such as to commit the mind to its broad facts, but to search for proof texts that could be assembled out of context in imposing catenae. The Tractarians established in a great part of Anglicanism a habit of contempt toward the Reformation and a neglect of its writers. Froude thought Cranmer could be credited with one thing only: "he burnt well." To burn well was not enough, and when the Martyrs' Monument was set up in Oxford (1841), the Tractarians refused to contribute or approve. The coldness of Pusey's references

to the Reformation is well illustrated in a sermon of 1837, on the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, which contains a long passage on the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. He blames the papacy for persecution, marvels at the incautious behavior of the "foreign Protestants," and, avoiding any expression of sympathy for the sufferers, gives thanks to God that the Church of England escaped such calamities. Keble praises Hooker in the degree in which Hooker differs from Cranmer and approaches Laud. Providence, he thought, had overruled the Reformation, leaving the way open for a retreat from it to "antiquity." Anglo-Catholicism unquestionably regained values that the Reformation neglected, but not less certainly its rejection of the positive contributions of the Reformation has entailed serious religious limitation and loss.

Those whose souls flourish in the simplicities of Protestant worship, and to whom elaborate ceremonial is a detriment to devotion, are alienated from Anglo-Catholicism by its entanglement in "ritualism." It should be remembered in the first place that the early Anglo-Catholics were distinctly opposed to the new attention to ceremonial "externals." Pusey wore very plain garb at the altar, and thought that rich vestments would minister to vanity. While he pointed out the force of some forgotten rubrics of the Prayer Book, he did not favor enforcing the ornaments rubric, which required the vestments of "the second year of Edward VI." It is pointed out by S. L. Ollard that "the first dawn of the ceremonial revival preceded the Oxford Movement by ten years." There is no reason why it might not have prospered without the Tractarians. Yet the Ritualists clung to the Tractarians, and in the end gained a virtually complete victory for what certain bishops of the time called "frippery" and "mummery." It was, however, a wholesome check upon the "gingerbread" school, that J. M. Neale, having founded the Camden Society when an undergraduate at Cambridge (1839) for ecclesiological studies, applied sound knowledge to the added ceremonial of vestments, gestures, and hymnody. Many bishops attempted to suppress these highly controversial changes, but without legal justification, and ineffectively. By the 1870's Anglo-Catholics were commonly spoken of as "Ritualists." Even when the Privy Council gave

an adverse judgment on certain points of ceremonial (1871), and when legislation was enacted to make these an offense, many priests went willingly to prison rather than submit. The struggle ended with the Convocation effectively resisting state compulsion, so that on the issue of ceremonial a defeat was administered to the Erastian System against which the early Tractarians had protested on other grounds. This result was in part made possible by the fact that the Church had regained its corporate voice. The restoration of Convocation, which had been silenced since 1718, took effect in 1861, largely as a result of the new spirit created by the Oxford Movement.

Thus the autonomy of the Church had in large degree become a reality. In Scotland this result was obtained at the cost of the Great Disruption of 1843 and a long period of separation; but by 1921 the principle of Church autonomy was fully established by the Scottish Churches Act. The Church of England is still not so happily related to the State, yet it is far from being an oppressed Church. It is still somewhat disturbed within by the stresses of the Tractarian strife, but it has undeniably advanced far in spirituality and vision since the movement began; and in this advance virtually all parts of the Christian Church in some way share. Keble's view that the Reformation was providentially overruled for good may be applied to the exaggerated emphases in Anglo-Catholicism itself, while from its excellences it has been a quickening force in modern Christianity.

Chapter

5

ROMAN CATHOLICISM IN THE MODERN ERA

I

Three centuries ago Thomas Hobbes described the Papacy as “the ghost of the holy Roman Empire sitting crowned upon the grave thereof.” The condition of the Roman Catholic Church after the first sweep of the Reformation has been likened by a sympathetic modern historian to that of “an army in rout.” Such phrases suggest a state of things remote from the actualities of today. No institution in our world less resembles an insubstantial ghost, and the military metaphor applicable to the Roman communion in our time might well be that of an army steadily advancing. A generation ago (1930) a Roman Catholic scholar scanning the Church’s modern situation exclaimed: “The night is past, the dawn is already here, and Catholic Rome meets the coming age with confidence.” Through all the later bitter strifes and surprising changes of the world, nothing has occurred to diminish that confidence. A century ago the Papacy lost the last of its temporal domains; but it gained thereby in spiritual opportunity to the profit of the entire Church. Giuseppe Mazzini in 1848 exclaimed: “The Papacy is dead.” A century later Pope Pius XII, addressing about 200,000 young women on St. Peter’s Square, recalled the patriot’s discredited utterance. Roman Catholicism has never given more evidence of religious reality than in our generation, and has never exercised more religious influence on society and culture than it does in the 1960’s. It commands the loyal service of a strong and alert corps of bishops, priests and members of religious orders, and of countless devout lay people. Its teaching are expounded by innumerable well-trained scholars and extensively popularized by

competent writers and speakers. It constantly expands its institutions and activities, and by its architecture, vestments and ceremonies makes itself attractively visible everywhere. Its members constitute about one-seventh of the population of the world, and are so distributed as to be in contact with all cultures and to form part of the environment of all other churches. Largely within our century it has made bold to shed its earlier anxious and defensive detachment from the currents of thought flowing in other Christian communions and in the secular and scientific realms, and in recent years has shown an eagerness to enter into dialogue with all seekers of truth and to co-operate where possible with any institution or movement tending toward the betterment of the world. Though long looked upon by many progressive minds as immovably conservative, it has now manifestly entered upon an era of thorough-going renovation and reinvigoration. Not surprisingly the changes introduced and projected are unwelcome to some of the people and clergy, while others are eager to go beyond them. But the church as a whole seems ready to move forward with deliberate speed. How far-reaching this movement may become cannot of course be foreseen; but it has already expressed itself in important advances that can never be reversed.

The new spirit in Roman Catholicism can best be appreciated in the light of a long history that is marked by achievements and failures, triumphs and humiliations, and therewith a growth of wisdom and the power of corporate self-evaluation and internal reform. That part of the Western church which remained in the Roman obedience at the Reformation was for some decades unable to respond vigorously to the literary campaign of the Reformers or to stem the tide of their success. In bewildering succession many states and nations renounced the tie with the Papacy. Others that maintained the connection asserted within their territories a large measure of autonomy in matters ecclesiastical, at the same time maintaining the hierarchical structure and taking severe measures against Protestantism. Of great historic importance is the simple fact that the two greatest powers of Europe, the Hapsburg emperors and the Valois kings, though they were traditional enemies

and often at war, alike avoided breaking away from Rome amid the tensions of that age. The defection of either of these would have been disastrous to the Papacy.

The quarter century that elapsed between the December in which Luther burned the pope's bull *Exsurge Domine* (1520) and the December in which the Council of Trent began its sessions (1545) presented to the adherents of Rome little that could be thought of as encouraging. What they plainly saw was ineffective and indecisive leadership disinclined to confess the need of reform or to take a stand against the forces of decadence and deterioration by which the Latin church had long been plagued. But already without much publicity new religious movements were beginning to play a salutary part. The concern of devout men brought into existence in Italy a series of fraternities that sought the reform of clerical piety and morals or engaged in preaching and works of charity among the common people. Though the members of these groups were few in number they were deeply in earnest and conscious of mission. Taken together they took on the character of an apostolate such as had not appeared since the coming of the friars in the thirteenth century. Crowning the series came the Society of Jesus, founded by Ignatius Loyola and authorized in 1540 by Pope Paul III,—the first pope in a century to concern himself primarily with the real interests of the Church. In this pontificate (1534–1549) the urge to reform ceased to be expressed merely by voluntary groups and serious minded individuals and became associated with papal policy.

When Paul III at the time of his election declared his intention to summon a general council, many were incredulous. Luther had repeatedly appealed for "a free general Christian council" and the Emperor Charles V had made a future council a part of his policy. The council issue had been prominent in German diets of the Reformation era. The expectation of a council took different shapes. Men had not forgotten that the councils of Constance and Basel in the previous century had affirmed the supremacy of representative councils over the authority of popes. The decree *Sacrosancta* adopted at Constance in 1415 states that the council represents the

Catholic Church militant and has its authority directly from Christ, and that everybody, including the pope, is obliged to obey it. This doctrine had been denounced in unmeasured terms by Pope Pius II in the bull *Execrabilis* (1460). But the hope that the ills of the Church would be remedied by a reforming council was not extinguished, and was now shared by a reforming pope. Paul's conception of the council had, of course, little resemblance to the fifteenth century pattern. It approach more nearly to that of the earlier Lateran councils in which the Papacy initiated and directed the decisions. The most careful plans were made for the meeting, but it was repeatedly delayed through political and military events. These included a war between the emperor and the French king. Meanwhile the pope appointed a fact-finding commission of cardinals to study and report on conditions in the Church that needed correction. Their report, presented in March, 1537, contained a devastating recital of abuses and scandals, some of which were attributed to popes who "imagine that their will is law." Copies confidentially circulated were soon fed to hungry presses of Germany and Italy. This was embarrassing, but salutary. It deepened the concern of good men for reform and revival. The organization in 1542 of the Roman Inquisition under Cardinal Giovanni Pietro Caraffa (later Pope Paul IV) for the suppression of Protestantism in the Italian cities, and an agreement between the pope and the emperor for the destruction of the Schmalkald League of Lutheran princes, also preceded the meeting of the council.

II

The story of the Council of Trent (1545-1563) has often been told; most recently by Hubert Jedin, whose amply informed *History of the Council of Trent* renders obsolete much of the earlier labor of historians. It is no longer pertinent to balance the views of the mordant Venetian critic of the council, Father Paolo Sarpi (1619) with those of its scholarly apologist, Cardinal Pietro Sforza Pallavicini (1656), though these accounts, together with the adverse Gallican interpretation of Guillaume Ranchin, will still attract the

interest of scholars. Since the sessions of the council were spread over eighteen years and were conditioned by a chain of political events, any recital of its history is here precluded. We must confine this notice to a few of its dogmatic decrees and supporting canons which together constituted a new platform for the Roman Catholic Church emerging from the conflicts and defeats of the Reformation. These decisions, adopted after free and often acrimonious debate under the guidance of the papal legates, contain much that is directly contradictory of Protestant doctrine as well as certain serious reforming measures. They resemble the clauses of Protestant confessions in that they set forth in explicit phrases what is to be believed and rejected. The medieval church had been content with a more slender corpus of required dogma. Many proposals however, raised in discussion died in debate; these included the permission of clerical marriage, of the use of the wine by laymen in the Eucharist, and of worship in the vernacular.

The position of the Roman see in relation to the Church is carefully guarded. It is noteworthy that the council adopted the title at the head of its decrees: "The sacred holy ecumenical synod of Trent, lawfully assembled in the Holy Ghost, the legates of the apostolic see presiding therein." The papal legates succeeded in substituting this style for the old conciliar formula, "representing the Catholic Church militant." Thus the authority of the synod is associated with the presiding legates of the pope, to the exclusion of any principle of representation. The membership was at all times far from being proportionate to church membership in the various countries. There was a constant majority of Italians, and voting was not as at Constance by nations but by numerical count. Since the council claimed to give utterance under inspiration of the Holy Spirit, some dissatisfied members, chiefly Gallican, circulated the sardonic quip that the Holy Ghost came from Rome in a dispatch box.

In early decisions a number of typical Protestant points of emphasis were repudiated. The declared basis of authority is not the Scripture alone. The fathers of Trent affirm (Session 4) a veneration for "the unwritten traditions" received by the apostles from

Christ, or dictated to the apostles by the Holy Spirit, which have been preserved in the Catholic Church and are of equal authority with Holy Scripture. Reformation views of sin and grace, and of justification, are treated at some length and explicitly condemned and anathematized in a long series of canons. The seven sacraments are affirmed and expounded (the doctrine of the Eucharist being explained (Session 13) with fine clarity and dignity of language) and the Reformation variants listed and condemned. Some of these matters were to be reverted to in later sessions; Session 23, for example offers fresh material on the sacrifice of the Mass. In the treatment of penance (Session 14) the medieval doctrine of this sacrament is expounded with reference to its parts, contrition, confession, absolution and satisfaction. Confession should begin as soon as a child is able to discern good from evil. All moral sins are to be confessed. Venial sins may be usefully confessed but may be left unconfessed at discretion and "expiated by a variety of other means." The more heinous crimes are to be reserved for the judgment of the sovereign Pontiff. Priests who are in mortal sin nevertheless retain the power of binding and loosing.

The jurisdiction of bishops was the subject of hot and prolonged debate. A contingent of French bishops led by Cardinal de Guise (1562) strongly affirmed episcopal as against the high view of papal authority which was in the main sustained in the formula finally adopted. This declares that bishops stand above priests in their power of consecration and ordination. They confer orders without consent or vocation of the people or of the secular power. But it is not affirmed, as had been proposed, that they hold authority directly from Christ (Session 23). Thus, after a perilous encounter, the advantage went definitely to the Papacy. Some ambiguity was left, but the greatest challenge to papal sovereignty had been warded off. Diego Laynez, successor of St. Ignatius as general of the Jesuits, with his colleague Alfonzo Salmeron, ably contributed in the debates to this result.

The council was finally brought to a successful conclusion under Pope Pius IV and his legate, the high-minded and able Cardinal Giovanni Morone, whom Paul IV had long imprisoned on sus-

picion of Lutheran heresies. Morone presented in July 1563 a scheme of reform in 42 articles which formed the basis for all the decrees of the closing period (Sessions 23 to 25) including those on clerical orders and ordination, matrimony, purgatory, saints and relics, and, last of all, indulgences, the issue on which Luther's first protest had begun. It is declared that the power of conferring indulgences was granted by Christ and employed in the ancient church. The many abuses and corruptions which have crept into the practice of indulgences are to be corrected. Both superstition and filthy lucre are roundly condemned. Bishops are charged to investigate all such abuses and report them to provincial synods after which they may be referred to the sovereign Roman Pontiff, "by whose authority and prudence what is expedient for the universal Church may be determined."

On this typical note, the acts of the Council of Trent ended, December 4, 1563. In the January following its canons and decrees were formally ratified by Pius IV, who soon afterwards published what was termed "The Profession of the Tridentine Faith." This was a highly condensed summary of the principal emphases of the decrees of Trent, designed and subsequently regularly applied as a test for ordination. Three of its provisions are as follows:

- v. I embrace and receive all and each of the things that have been defined and declared in the Holy Synod of Trent concerning original sin and justification.
- ix. (in part) I affirm that the power of indulgences was left by Christ in the Church and that the use of them is most wholesome to the Christian people.
- x. I acknowledge the Holy, Apostolic, Roman Church as Mother and Mistress of all Churches; and to the Roman Pontiff, successor of the blessed Peter, Prince of Apostles, and Vicar of Jesus Christ, I promise and swear true obedience.

III

In the final period of the Council of Trent a figure of rising importance was Charles Borromeo (1538-1584) nephew of Pius IV

and archbishop of Milan. Borromeo was largely responsible for the completion of the *Roman* (or *Tridentine*) *Catechism* promulgated under Pope Pius V in 1566. In the early months of the council it was decided that a catechism for the instruction of children and laymen should be prepared and authorized. Little progress was made on this project, and it was unfinished when the Council closed. The committee appointed by the legates to prepare the text had brought back a labored and unacceptable treatise intended for the use of priests in their pastoral labors. Protestantism had been promoted by the use of catechisms for the common folk. In the previous decade the Jesuit Peter Canisius had prepared a "Summa," a "Shorter" and a "Shortest" Catechism, the last of which, a very simple statement, was already in wide use and served well the purpose of elementary instruction. The Tridentine Catechism as finally published is simply written but not elementary, and is primarily a treatise for priests. The English edition by John A. McHugh and Charles J. Callan (*Catechism of the Council of Trent for Parish Priests*) is an ample volume of 589 pages. Completely faithful to the teachings of Trent, the Catechism is a document of first importance for our understanding of the Counter Reformation. At the same time it reminds us of many popular medieval handbooks by its structure, featuring in turn the Creed, the Sacraments, the Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer. It should be of interest to all Christians for its many admirable expressions of Christian piety. Take, for example, these sentences from the section on prayer:

"We are to pray for all mankind, without exception of enemies, nation or religion; for every man, be he enemy, stranger, or infidel, is our neighbor, whom God commands us to love and for whom, therefore, we should discharge a duty of love, which is prayer."

There are, however, a good many statements not so acceptable to Christians of other communions. This is generally true of the explanation of the Sacrament of Orders. Here the degrees of the priesthood are discussed under the headings "priests," "bishops," "archbishops," "patriarchs," "the pope." The Supreme Pontiff, we are told,

"sits in the chair of Peter in which, beyond every shadow of doubt, the prince of the Apostles sat until the end of his days, and hence it is in him that the Church recognizes the highest degree of dignity and a universality of jurisdiction, derived, not from the decrees of men or councils, but from God himself; therefore, he is the father and guide of all the faithful, of all the bishops, and of all the prelates, no matter how high their office, and as successor of Saint Peter, as true and lawful vicar of Christ our Lord, he governs the Universal Church."

In the Commandments, the words, "Thou shalt not make to thyself a graven thing" are interpreted, by reference to certain other Old Testament passages, so as not to forbid the use in worship of art representation of divine Persons, of angels and or saints. Prayer to the Virgin Mary is commended

"in order that by her intercession she may reconcile God to us sinners, and may obtain for us those blessings which we stand in need of in this life and in the life to come."

IV

From what has been said it is apparent that long before the end of the sixteenth century much had been achieved toward the recovery of Roman Catholicism. The story of the papacy itself in this and the subsequent period is of fascinating interest, not only for its leadership in measures of reform within the Church but also for its political and diplomatic activity. Painful, certainly, have been the adjustments of the Roman Catholic Church to the modern national spirit. Europe was to remain permanently divided in religion, and the so-called wars of religion were to mingle with national struggles. France, indeed, had its civil war of religion in the sixteenth century. In Germany, the major strife was the 'Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648. While it is true that in some degree religious differences animated the contestants in these bitter conflicts, it should be remembered that long before the Reformation, and in the decades just preceding it, parts of Europe were constantly bleeding from war, although these earlier conflicts were in general not animated by religion at all. The motives that make for war are mani-

fold and in Europe they have been almost constantly present.

In the Peace of Westphalia at the end of the 'Thirty Years' War, the papacy suffered political humiliation. Trautmannsdorf, the representative of Emperor Ferdinand III of Austria, did not hesitate to bargain away Church property regardless of the claims of Pope Innocent X, and agreed to numerous concessions to Protestants. The popes thereafter were more than ever embarrassed in their relations with the nations. It was evident that the nominal adherence of a ruler to the papacy offered little assurance of any international championing of the papal interests. This indifference on the part of Roman Catholic governments to the political policies of the Vatican has many subsequent illustrations. All the major postwar political settlements since the Reformation have been very unsatisfactory to the popes. Thus Pope Paul IV vigorously condemned the peace of Augsburg, 1555, and was deeply aggrieved at Charles V, and especially his brother Ferdinand, for their acceptance of clauses in that treaty that countered papal claims. The Peace of Westphalia contained a provision nullifying in advance any protest that might be made by the pope. But the ambassador, Chigi, and later Pope Innocent X himself, protested vigorously. In the brief, *Zelo domus Dei*, Innocent X expressed indignation that the Lutherans were allowed the free exercise of their heresy and that other things were agreed upon prejudicial to the Roman see. The articles of peace were declared null and void. They were not to be observed even though fortified by an oath. This protest, the pope adds, shall remain valid for all time. The peace of 1815 was scarcely more agreeable to Pius VII. It is well known that Benedict XV sought in vain papal representation at the peace table after World War I, and that the pope is not represented in the United Nations organization. Whatever influence the popes may have in the framing of political policies it is for the most part exercised otherwise than by participation in international organizations and through the ordinary channels of diplomacy.

The spirit of nationalism has also profoundly affected the internal life of the Roman Catholic Church in many countries. The most striking illustration of this is seen in the history of Gallicanism.

From the high Middle Ages down, powerful kings of France had sought and acquired a large control of the Church with respect to appointments and taxation. Many concordats, and notably that of 1438, which affirmed the principle of conciliar government, had been negotiated to regulate relationships between the pontiffs and the French monarchy. The conciliar principle was dropped in the Bologna Concordat of 1516, which left appointments to the episcopate and to abbeys in France largely in the control of the king. In the seventeenth century, French Gallicanism moved on to a new stage. The great prelates who owed their appointments to Louis XIV could be counted upon to support the king's decisions. They stood by him when he undertook to extend his regalian rights in southern France, although this involved a dire quarrel with Pope Innocent XI. It was no other than Jacques Bénigne Bossuet, perhaps the greatest ecclesiastic of his century, who in the king's interest drew up the Declaration of the Clergy of France, 1682. It denies that kings are subject to ecclesiastical authority in temporal things, but on the other hand it affirms the continued validity of the decree *Sacrosancta* of the Council of Constance by which the pope was subjected to the Council. The pope's decision, it is said, is final only after the Church has given its consent. Innocent now refused to acquiesce in the consecration of the bishops who had been, according to the custom, appointed by Louis, and Louis in turn seized Avignon and appealed for a general council of the Church. About ten years later the conflict ended in a compromise. But the spirit of Gallicanism lived on into the nineteenth century. It may be said to have reached its culmination in the measures taken by Napoleon in the Concordat of 1801, by which Roman Catholicism was held to be "the religion of the majority of Frenchmen," and bishops were to be appointed by nomination of the Government and canonically instituted by authority of the pope. The Church property was taken over and clergy were put on stated salaries.

Febronianism is the name often applied on German and Austrian soil to the phenomenon corresponding to Gallicanism. It is derived from the pseudonym "Justinus Febronius" assumed by Nicholas von Hontheim, coadjutor bishop of Treves, who in 1763 pub-

lished his celebrated book, *On the State of the Church and the Power of the Roman Pontiff*. He asserted conciliar against papal claims and applied in a nationalist sense the old conciliar doctrines of authority. Numerous German bishops adhered to the teachings of Febronius, and his influence was strongly felt in the ecclesiastical policies of Joseph II of Austria, 1765–1790.

The humiliations administered to Pope Pius VII by Napoleon called forth widespread sympathy for the papacy, and in the settlement of 1815 an effort, on the whole unsuccessful, was made to restore the papal political prestige. Meanwhile in May, 1814, Pope Pius VII had re-entered Rome and issued the bull *Sollicitudo omnium* by which the Jesuit order was restored. Pius and his successor, Leo XIII, repeatedly condemned Protestant Bible societies; and Leo set the Jews of Rome again in a ghetto from which they were released by Pius IX in 1846.

Pius IX (1846–1878) and four of his successors dramatized their protest against the treatment of them by the Italian State in 1871 by regarding themselves as prisoners in the Vatican. The imprisonment ended with the Vatican Treaty of 1929 between Mussolini and Pius XI. This important treaty was secretly negotiated on the initiative of Mussolini. Its promulgation was attended by spectacular ceremonies joyously held at St. Peter's. Catholic political parties opposing Mussolini were dissolved by the pope. But Mussolini was to give the Vatican many anxious hours before the beginning of World War II.

Nineteenth century ultramontanism first found explicit utterance in the works of two French noblemen who had suffered from the violence of the revolution, Louis Gabriel Ambroise, Vicomte de Bonald, and Joseph Marie, Comte de Maistre. De Bonald wrote in 1796 a three-volume work entitled *Theory of Political and Religious Power in Civil Society*, and De Maistre hailed him as a brother. De Maistre's impressive book, *Du pape*, appeared in 1817. These writers, looking upon the Revolution as satanic, set forth a romantic view of the papacy in history as the principal agency of civilization and unity. In the historical troubles of Europe the popes were the peacemakers and mediators. Gallicanism is wholly repudiated;

religion and culture are now to be centered in the papacy, and humanity to enjoy peace and welfare under a papal theocracy.

Many eminent Roman Catholic writers took up this theme. It was combated, however, by a group of "Liberal Catholics," who desired to see the Church brought into more favorable relations with the political liberalism that was then arising to challenge the reactionary governments. Certain of these, "the pilgrims of liberty," personally visited and appealed to Pope Gregory XVI in 1831, who responded a year later in his encyclical *Mirari vos* (August 15, 1832), roundly condemning modern impiety and liberalism. Gregory described the view that every man has a claim to liberty as "an insane idea" and "a pernicious error." But a far greater furor was created when Pius IX issued his bull, *Quanta cura*, of December 8, 1864, which contained the celebrated Syllabus of Errors. It would appear that the idea of publishing an authoritative list of errors was suggested by the young man who was later to be Pope Leo XIII, who, as pope was to move in a liberal direction. The Syllabus lists eighty statements for condemnation. It is an error that "the Roman pontiff and ecumenical councils have exceeded the limits of their power, have usurped the rights of princes and have committed errors in defining matters of faith and morals." It is an error that "the Church ought to be separated from the State and the State from the Church." It is an error to object to the extensive claims of Roman Catholicism in the State (77), or to claim the opportunity of worship for non-Roman Catholic immigrants into the Roman Catholic countries (78). And the final error is "that the Roman pontiff can and ought to reconcile himself to and agree with progress, liberalism, and up-to-date civilization" (*cum recenti civilitate*).

Pope Pius was already preparing an assembly for the declaration of the dogma of papal infallibility, a doctrine that had been introduced into the disputations of the sixteenth century and thereafter, held by many, rejected by many, and probably neglected by most Roman Catholics until the rise of ultramontaniam. It may have been the pressure of secular Italian nationalism that called forth from Pius and his supporters the determination to press for the affirmation of the dogma. Many true believers in infallibility thought the time inopportune for declaring it. While French troops tem-

porarily held off Victor Emmanuel from gaining control of Rome, final preparations were made for the Vatican Council, and it opened on December 8, 1869. The Pope was accorded the right to initiate all proposals. A minority, surprising in number, resisted for a time the pressure for the declaration of infallibility. On July 18, 1870, many of the opposition having departed in despair, the decree *Pastor aeternus*, which embodied the doctrine, was adopted. The essential passage is:

“We, with the approval of the sacred council, teach and define that it is a dogma divinely revealed that when the Roman pontiff speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when discharging the office of shepherd and doctor of all Christians in virtue of his supreme apostolic authority to define the doctrine to be held by the Universal Church concerning faith and morals, he enjoys, by divine assistance promised to him in the blessed Peter, that infallibility by which the divine Redeemer willed his Church to be endowed in the definition of doctrine concerning faith and morals. And therefore, such definitions of the Roman pontiff are irreformable of themselves and not by virtue of the consent of the Church. Whoever shall presume to contradict this our definition, which God forbid, let him be anathema.”

The phraseology used is far less sweeping than some ardent infallibilists had wished. The whole issue had called forth an extensive controversial literature, and the opposition of alarmed statesmen and of some eminent historical scholars was known to all. Infallibility remains a somewhat vague expression in the document, since it is not fully indicated when the pope “speaks *ex cathedra*” or wherein consists that infallibility with which Christ willed to endow his Church. Bishop Joseph Fessler, secretary of the Council, later argued that the decree did not extend to papal encyclicals. Amid variant opinions, there has been little actual appeal to the claim of infallibility in support of papal utterances. Thus the dogma of the Assumption of Mary was promulgated in 1950 without citation of the infallibility decree. If since the days of Pius IX the papacy has risen in the estimation of mankind, it is not because of the assertion of this claim, but because of the greater dignity and eminence of some of the later popes and their concern for human need.

V

The religious life of Roman Catholicism has been rich and varied. As compared with the conditions at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the end of it witnessed a vast improvement in earnestness and religious reality. The most active agency in this revitalization of the Church was the Jesuit order. Its services were in many fields. The labors of Peter Canisius (d. 1597), chiefly in German speaking areas, constituted an impressive lesson in constancy and zeal. Nothing in his apostolate was more important than the planting of a chain of Jesuit colleges in Germany, Austria and Bohemia. These were to supply intellectual strength and permanence to the Counter Reformation movement. Many members of the order undertook perilous missions in Protestant territories, while others, following in the path of St. Francis Xavier, engaged in heroic efforts to convert non-Christians in distant lands.

Essential to the Jesuit training was a profound exploration and an unrelenting discipline of the interior life. Asceticism of the body was disregarded save as a matter of fitting the body to be an efficient agent of religious activity, while the asceticism of the spirit and the training of the will were intensified. Salvation was thought of as associated not so much with faith as with the right direction of the will. Loyola believed the will of man to be not morally helpless. Against Augustinians and Reformers, who stressed man's inability, Loyola and the Jesuits stressed the freedom of the will to do good, together with the principle of obedience. Early in their history they became the spiritual guides of innumerable laymen and women, many of these persons of distinction and power. As directors of souls they accumulated a great lore of casuistry which survives in many laborious treatises. Besides the Jesuits, many orders and agencies were at work restoring the inner life and structural firmness of the Church. Those who try to understand the Roman communion from a position outside it may be greatly handicapped if they fail to recognize the extent and variety of spontaneous religious activity within it.

It was in seventeenth century France that Roman Catholic piety found its best literary expression. In 1686 a devout French author, Etienne Molinier, wrote:

“Never in the world has there been so full a knowledge of divine mysteries, never such full explanations of Scripture, such illumination of theology, such clearing away of difficulties, such manifestations of truth; never such a multitude of theologians, casuists, contemplatives, and spiritual masters, opening by voice or by ink, by flesh or spirit, so many windows toward heaven.”

This passage is quoted by Henri Bremond, the able historian of the French literature of devotion whose *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France* fills eleven ample volumes. Bremond states that he has excluded from his survey an immense heap of rubbish; but there remains a vast treasury of devotional writing of high quality. “Devout humanism” is Bremond’s term to characterize what he prizes most of this material. The French church possessed many talented men who made themselves experts in the direction of souls, some of whom still speak helpfully through their writings. This was the age of Pierre Bérulle (d. 1629), founder of the French Congregation of the Oratory (1611), a great inspirer of spirituality in younger men; of the ardent St. Francis de Sales (d. 1622), author of the *Introduction to the Devout Life* (1609); of François de la Mothe Fénelon (d. 1715), director of courtly ladies and military men, teacher of “recollectedness” or spiritual composure amid distractions, and of “*bonne volonté*”, which for him, meant willing obedience to the commands of God; the age of Jacques Bénigne Bossuet (d. 1704), prelate, orator, historian, theologian, and, like others here named, author of thousands of spiritual letters. St. Vincent de Paul (d. 1660), a disciple of Bérulle, stands in the forefront of practical mystics of all time. His wide contacts and travels are reflected in his voluminous correspondence; and he possessed a peculiar genius for inaugurating and conducting charitable and missionary enterprises. The Sisters of Charity (1618) constituted one of his more important foundations. St. Vincent was a fraternal soul who rose above the intolerant spirit that still prevailed in his time.

In this period also many sought spiritual attainment in solitude, cultivating a tranquil devotion and contemplation based upon the Psalter rather than the mystical fervor of Saint Bernard or Saint Francis. Spanish mysticism, however, took intense and austere forms, especially in Saint John of the Cross (d. 1591), and flowered in the Quietism of Miguel Molinos (d. 1697).

Another type of piety, which clashed with that of the Jesuits, grew directly out of the intensive study of Saint Augustine by Cornelius Jansen, bishop of Ypres. Jansen's great work entitled *Augustinus* was published in 1640, two years after the author's death. In a long historical introduction Jansen accused the Jesuits of Pelagianism, and called for a return to faith in accordance with the teachings of Augustine and Paul. Certain of the papal decisions seemed to him inconsistent with Augustine's theology. Jansenism was assailed and condemned in several papal utterances, but it attracted numerous devoted supporters. Jansen's personal friend, Jean du Vergier de Hauranne, Abbé de St. Cyran, and Blaise Pascal, one of the greatest minds of a great century, were among those who took up the defense of the work. While at the community of Port Royal near Paris to which numerous Jansenists had come, Pascal wrote his celebrated *Provincial Letters* (1656-1657), a satirical exposure of the casuistry of the Jesuits and Dominicans. The Gallican Church was torn by the controversy which followed. Many of the clergy refused to obey the bull *Unigenitus* (1713), since it condemned not only the Jansenists but also passages from Augustine and even teachings of Scripture. Through the intervention of Louis XV, the Jansenists were suppressed in France and some of the leaders took refuge in the Netherlands. At Utrecht in 1723 they elected a bishop and established an independent communion. The Netherlands Jansenists became associated with the irreconcilable opponents of the Vatican decrees, 1870. The so-called Old Catholic party which in 1873 became the Old Catholic Church, received holy orders from the Jansenist bishop of Deventer in Holland. The Amsterdam conference of the World Council of Churches (1948) held a session in the Old Catholic Church at Utrecht.

Jansen had exalted Augustine as the doctor of doctors, while the Jesuits drew their nurture largely from Aquinas. In the Arminian controversy within the Reformed Church during the same era, Arminianism corresponds somewhat to the Jesuit position, while the principles of official Calvinism approximate those of Jansenism. But while the Jansenists were defeated, the situation was reversed in the Protestant controversy, in which the Augustinian-Calvinist tradition was then victorious.

Jansen expounds at great length the argument that man is morally unable without grace; and for him grace begins from faith in Christ. Faith is something given, not attained; the easy doctrine of "sufficient grace" presented by the Jesuits is repudiated. The believer's will is activated by grace. Jansen was anxious to differentiate his views from those of the Calvinists. In letters, he likened Protestants to Turks and thought that they deserved more persecution than they got. Yet there is a broad resemblance of his doctrine to that of Calvin, and that of Calvin's early seventeenth century followers.

The teachings of the Jansenists exercised a great influence in the realm of piety. The Port Royalists produced many books. L. Frédéric Jaccard, in a useful monograph on St. Cyran, speaks of their books of edification as "innumerable." Their influence upon the piety of French Protestantism was not negligible. Among these gifted authors, it is Pascal who alone shines with the light of genius. His *Thoughts on Religion and Some Other Subjects*, 1670, has fascinated and inspired countless readers. One of Pascal's ablest interpreters was Alexandre Vinet, a nineteenth century Protestant of great spiritual and intellectual gifts.

Controversies over books of devotion and piety have not been infrequent. It is a field of individualism in which uncensored utterances are apt to escape to the general public, producing ecclesiastical headaches. Celebrated is the case of Madame Jeanne Marie Guyon. She was a pious and precocious child who found herself at eighteen married, through family arrangements, to a rich but churlish invalid, and at twenty entered upon the earnest culti-

vation of the mystical life. She was struck by the words of a Franciscan friend of her father, "You are seeking without what you have within; seek God in your own heart and you will find him." Her Quietism was a devotion to the God within. John Wesley translated her own account of her life, written for Bossuet in 1695, when she was accused of heresy and Bossuet headed a commission to try her.

She wrote with great ease and very extensively. *The Spiritual Torrents* and *The Short and Easy Way of Prayer* were written under the influence of her director, Father la Combe. They reflect the intense experiences that she had known in which, after long anguish, she reached what she called the unitive state. She was a neurotic and erratic person, and being untrained in theology, she made use of phrases that were startling and unorthodox. Her Quietism reached the point of indifference with regard to her own salvation and resembled the teaching of Miguel Molinos, author of *Spiritual Guide*, 1675, who had died in prison, his doctrines having been condemned by Pope Innocent XI at the bidding of Louis XIV. Another highly temperamental Quietist was Antoinette Bourignon (d. 1680) of Lille, who also wrote extensively and whose influence was felt in Protestant Holland and Scotland. Both these women taught the doctrines of extreme Quietism, and both were very excitable and very energetic. The great and wise bishop Fénelon, undertaking to give spiritual direction to Madame Guyon, found himself more directed than director. He so far felt her influence as to introduce into his writings some phrases that had been made familiar by her, and his book *Maxims of the Saints on the Interior Life* showed that many long-approved devotional writers used similar language. Madame Guyon went to prison, and Fénelon to the country. Meanwhile Nicholas Hermann of Lorraine (Brother Lawrence), a lame veteran who had become a kitchen servant in a Carmelite monastery, in his *Conversations and Letters on the Practice of the Presence of God*, (1666-1691), had given more wholesome expression to the quietistic type of devotion: "The time of business does not with me differ from the time of prayer and in the noise and clatter of my kitchen while several persons are call-

ing for different things, I possess God in as great tranquility as if I were upon my knees at the blessed Sacrament."

But Roman Catholic piety had been of various types. Marguerite Alacoque, a Burgundy nun who had practiced extreme mortifications, conceived of Jesus as her lover and, under the spiritual direction of a Jesuit, witnessed extraordinary visions. In one of these the heart of Jesus was exposed in his body, glowing like the sun, and she was commanded to institute what was called the devotion of the Sacred Heart. Pope Clement XIII in 1765 authorized this devotion in response to Jesuit appeals, although other orders had opposed it. The Neapolitan Alphonso Maria de Liguori was instrumental in founding the order of Redemptorists (1733). After the Jesuits were expelled from Portugal, France, Spain, Naples and Parma, and then suppressed by Clement XIV in 1773, the Redemptorists succeeded to some of their functions and were very active until the Jesuit order was restored in 1814. Through his writings and teachings Liguori contributed greatly to a revival of ascetic piety. He gave increased currency to the cult of the Virgin Mary, especially through his popular book, *The Glories of Mary* (1750).

With the rise of Ultramontaniam in the early nineteenth century, we observe a great deal of attention to the cult of Mary. The Virgin had long been adored, and in popular esteem was held to intercede with Christ himself in behalf of sinners. The Catechism of Trent, as we saw, affirmed that she "reconciles God to us." The doctrine of her perpetual virginity was a commonplace of the medieval Church. In the high Middle Ages some writers began to advocate the view of the Immaculate Conception of Mary. The doctrine was strongly opposed by Saint Bernard and was not adopted by Aquinas. It was favored, however, by Franciscan theologians, including Duns Scotus. For ascetic minds, it was a natural corollary of the notion of Mary's sinlessness, which was assumed in connection with the devotions offered to her. Pius elevated this widespread belief to the status of an official dogma in the bull *Ineffabilis Deus*, December 8, 1854, which declares:

"The doctrine which holds that the blessed Virgin Mary from the first moment of her conception by a special grace and privilege of Almighty God, in virtue of the merits of Christ, was preserved immaculate from all stain of original sin, was revealed by God."

On November 1, 1950, another important addition was made to the body of dogma regarding Mary. In the apostolic constitution, *Munificentissimus Deus* "the bodily assumption of the Virgin Mary into heaven" was "defined as a dogma of divine and Catholic faith" by Pope Pius XII. From early medieval times popular piety cherished the legend of the Assumption of Mary, and this was recognized in some liturgical forms. The various passages of Scripture cited in support of it, such as Gen. 3:15; Isa. 7:14; Luke 1:26-28; and Rev. 12:1-6, contain no statement of the Virgin's bodily assumption, and no witnesses of the event or early attestations of it can be adduced. The underlying reason for regarding it as historically true seems rather to be the fact that it has been believed by many of the faithful. The prior protest of the Anglican archbishops against the proposed declaration of the dogma, and various subsequent Protestant statements on it, indicate that it has distressed many Christians. Some have feared that it would tend to bring derision upon the Christian faith, and the suggestion has arisen in secular journals that the dogma would be accepted by intellectuals as legend or poetry. But more recent developments have tended to remove it from the foreground of discussion.

VI

Since 1950, and especially since 1958 when the momentous pontificate of John XXIII began, the Roman Catholic Church has entered upon a new era. Far-reaching reforms have been undertaken in courageous response to the conditions of the age and in a spirit of Christian charitableness toward members and leaders of other communions. It is not too much to say that the entire atmosphere wherever Christians meet across denominational boundaries has, through the new cordiality brought to it from Rome, been cleared of much lingering suspicion and reserve. There seems

no reason to doubt that Christianity in time to come will never cease to bear the stamp placed upon it by the inspired initiative and gracious Christian personality of Pope John.

John XXIII was not numbered among the leading Christian scholars of his time, or among the master builders of organization. But in his case a great person was given a great opportunity which with total dedication he turned into an astonishing achievement.

Whereas a century ago official Roman Catholicism bore an aspect of watchful apprehension and disapproval toward the emerging trends in thought and society, and pronounced anathemas on Protestant and other deviations from its teaching, it has now been brought into vital relations with both the religious and the secular forces that move in independence of its authority, and it is in an advantageous position to exert a creative influence throughout the total Church and in every concern of humanity. There exists a feeling of surprise among us as we become conscious of this revolutionary change in a vast institution that had been labelled reactionary. But certain contributing factors can be discerned in earlier days. From the sixteenth century there have been here and there in the Roman communion unofficial advocates of a fraternal approach to Protestantism. Especially since the era of Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903) there has been generated a new intellectual energy that was bound to range beyond the limits set by such statements as the Syllabus of Errors. The numerous ably written encyclicals of this venerated pope opened up a realm of thought on politics and society, on history and the Bible, and greatly encouraged the advance of scholarship. Leo's encyclical *Rerum novarum* (1891), perhaps his finest masterpiece, laid down, in opposition to Marxian socialism, principles for the solution of modern economic problems in essential accord with the teachings of Thomas Aquinas. His *Providentissimus Deus* (1893) set forth a plan for the study of Holy Scripture, cautious indeed, but remarkable for its emphasis on the use of Hebrew and Greek in addition to the Vulgate. A commission was instituted (1902) for the direction of Biblical studies. Although Benedict XV later took narrow ground on the inerrancy of Scripture, and the Pontifical Biblical Commission laid

down some very restrictive rules for scholars, the growth of biblical learning has been rapid since Leo's time. Pope Pius XII in a substantial encyclical, *Divino afflante Spiritu* (1943), indicated something of the progress of these studies. He explains here the authorization of the Vulgate Bible by the Council of Trent as in no way diminishing the value and authority of the original texts. He urges the study of oriental languages and antiquities and attention to "historical, archaeological and other auxiliary sciences" as aids to theological and doctrinal instruction. In his *Humani generis* (1950), however, it is required teaching that all men are descended from Adam. There was inevitably a trend toward freedom to reach conclusions not contemplated in the rules given, e.g., on Moses' authorship of the Pentateuch or Paul's authorship of Hebrews. There has also been a broadening interchange of scholarly research, not only in the biblical but over the entire historical field, between Roman Catholic and other scholars.

In Leo XIII's time great embarrassment was caused by the Modernist movement, a bold and many sided liberalism armed with scholarship. The movement had its origin in the 1870's from the work of the French church historian Louis Duchesne and his student the biblical scholar Alfred Loisy. Cardinal Newman's concept of the development of doctrine also gave to the Modernists suggestions of progressive change in teaching with the advance of knowledge. The Irish-born Jesuit, George Tyrrell, a sincere and versatile religious writer, and the eminent laymen Lord Acton, Baron von Hügel, and Antonio Fogazzaro, were prominent representatives of the party. Fogazzaro's novel, *Il Santo*, interested an international public in the movement. It powerfully assailed the "immobility" and other inadequacies of the hierarchy and proposed basic reforms which included action by a new free council. Although Pius X took strong measures against Modernism and the leaders died or were silenced, one cannot avoid recognizing a certain affinity between some of the Modernist objectives and those which have come to be incorporated in policies associated with the Second Vatican Council.

But all such background facts gave no clear clue to the trans-

formation we have witnessed in the past eleven years. Nor did the cardinals who elected the seventy-seven year old son of an Alpine farmer pope in 1958 anticipate what the name he chose would come to mean within a few years. The pontificate of John XXIII though short (October 21, 1958 to June 3, 1963) was momentous. Those who on St. Paul's day, January 25, 1959, heard Pope John after Mass announce his intention to call a new ecumenical council, listened in silent astonishment. "The first to be surprised by this proposal of mine was myself," he wrote; for the idea came to him "as a divine impulse during prayer." He proceeded in a masterly way to prepare for the council, and after it met (October 11, 1962) to give leadership in it, at the same time establishing the friendliest relations with a mixed body of "observers" representing many churches. Pope John's life ended after the first of the four sessions of the council, but the assembly was convoked again under his successor, Paul VI, and went forward in the same ecumenical spirit with autumn sessions ending December 8, 1965.

The decisions of the council, many of the speeches made in it, and a large body of books and articles interpreting it from various angles, are now before the public. It may be decades before the significance of Vatican II can be fully appraised, but unquestionably it constitutes an ecclesiastical event of great magnitude. Pope John early made the public familiar with certain expressions suggestive of its purpose. The word "Pentecost" was used to describe his hope that through it the Church might experience a fresh visitation of the Holy Spirit. More novel was his principle of *aggiornamento*, which involved bringing the Church and its agencies up-to-date in relation to the needs of the changing world. Among other words employed were "renewal" and "reunion." These two objectives are in the acts of the council closely bound together; there is no expectation of union without renewal. Reunion is no longer set forth in terms of simple obedience to Rome. In the decree of ecumenism the faithful are urged to take an active part in the ecumenical movement. It is recognized that "the brethren divided from us" practice liturgical acts which "can truly engender a work of grace" and "give access to the communion of salvation." The hope is for

an ultimate "integration into eucharistic communion" of all who profess Jesus Christ as God. This is to be approached through "dialogue between competent experts," which may begin from a shared regard for Holy Scripture, baptism and the Lord's Supper, the ministry and the moral application of the Gospel. The kindly welcome given to scores of observers representing churches outside the Roman obedience, and the casual intercourse between observers and members, no doubt greatly helped to foster the ecumenical spirit. We must here omit from consideration the ample and carefully framed constitutions and decrees on central issues such as the Liturgy, the Church, the Apostolate of the Laity and Religious Freedom. Everywhere a great deal is said that should rejoice the heart of every Christian, and all is said in a way that can give no offence. This is true also in a remarkable degree of the speeches reported. In these, bishops from every part of the world speak the language of Christian humility and teachableness, and show themselves almost entirely free from intolerance, prejudice and rigid dogmatism. Earlier councils spoke in oracular terms, setting down creeds and commands with an air of finality and a fusillade of anathemas. Here there are no anathemas. We behold a great Church in confession and in truth-seeking no less than in testimony to its cherished beliefs.

On many points, such as the emphasis laid on the Bible and its circulation, use of the mother tongue in the liturgy, the Pauline tone of the doctrine of the Church, and the fine statement on the priesthood of the laity, Protestants will meet teachings in accord with familiar emphases of the Reformation. One can understand why some anxious priests and people in the Roman communion have been asking whether their church has "gone Protestant." There are some, too, who are not ready for the council's clear espousal of the cause of religious liberty, which entails a complete repudiation of persecution. But it would be erroneous to suppose that anything is surrendered of the core of Roman Catholicism. The friendliest "dialogue" will not soon bring detailed agreement with Protestants. The seven sacraments, the veneration of saints, the Assumption and salvific influence of Mary, the ascetic orders, the offering of Christ in

the Mass, and papal infallibility are all specifically retained and explained. There is, however, an unfamiliar accent, as compared with earlier dogmatic utterances, in the explanations given. Some of these are manifestly designed to lead away from concentration on certain once hotly controverted points of doctrine and from extravagances of popular piety. It is pointed out, for example, that "the maternal duty of Mary in no way obscures or diminishes the unique mediation of Christ." Teachers and preachers are warned against "false exaggeration," and the faithful against "vain credulity" in the cult of Mary. Again, in his infallible utterance the pope "is not pronouncing as a private person, but as the supreme teacher of the universal Church in whom the charism of infallibility of the Church itself is individually present." The old dogmas are not weakened, though they are freshly viewed, and, set side by side with newly framed ecumenical and social teachings, they lose some of their former emphasis.

As this is written, much else that exhibits the renewal of the Papacy and of the Roman Catholic Church comes almost daily to our ears and eyes. The Church's tasks, internal as well as external, are enormous. Dissent within has become publicly vocal as never before. Yet no serious revolt or schism seems to impend. The vast organism is held together more by loyalty and less by obedience than hitherto. There has been an increment of spiritual and intellectual vigor, and morale is high. When a French Canadian archbishop at the height of his career devotes himself to the service of lepers in Africa, we learn a lesson in the reality of religion within contemporary Roman Catholicism. The process of renewal has only been begun. Paul VI reminded the fathers of Vatican II of "the continual reform, of which the Church herself, as a human and earthly institution, is constantly in need." This is language familiar in ecumenical circles, and indeed to Protestants since the time of Calvin, though often too glibly uttered. "The Church reformed is always to be reformed: *Ecclesia reformata, semper reformanda*." The papal avowal of this principle should lead us all to espouse it anew with prayerful resolution. And surely all Christians and churches may well take courage from the new life that now stirs

throughout the greatest of Christian communions and hail with gladness the results already manifest of Pope John's "divine impulse during prayer."

Chapter 6

THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

I

What gracious heart is not cut asunder with grief for those sore and fearful evils that there are in, and come from, our divisions, and is not even the second time cut asunder with careful thoughts in itself, what may be done to heal them? ” So Richard Baxter begins his discourse on *The Cure of Church Divisions* (1670). If he were with us now, he would need only to modernize the form, and not to change the substance, of this rhetorical question. “That they all may be one” remains a prayer. Yet we may begin to see a new answer to the prayer in our time.

Two drives have constantly marked the Church’s history, one toward expansion; the other toward integration. Expansion into new areas and peoples entails the peril of sectionalism and division. Against these the very nature of Christianity protests. The Church affirms and seeks to realize its unity. In anxiety to secure this it has sometimes resorted to high claims of legal authority and reliance upon compulsion by secular governments. This condition was characteristic of the medieval period as a whole. It called forth, however, reactions of heresy and schism, which could sometimes be crushed but never eradicated. Thus the means employed to assure unity were a psychological cause of disunity. The medieval Church reached a point in the growth of sectarian movements in which the exclusion and persecution of sectaries, as heretics and schismatics, began to suggest the very dismemberment of the body of the Church.

The Reformation protested against the compulsion of conscience, yet retained elements of this, justifying these on grounds of security

against anarchy and of obedience to the Scripture. But Protestantism had no success in the compulsory restraint of variation and divisiveness. To declare, as Calvinism did, that "God alone is Lord of the conscience," and yet to persecute those whose consciences revolted from a prescribed doctrine or ceremony, did not make sense. As it violated logic it violated also human feeling. This is seen as early as 1575 in the plea of John Foxe the martyrologist to Queen Elizabeth on behalf of accused Anabaptists:

"I do not write thus from any bias to the indulgence of error, but to save the lives of men, being myself a man."

A more secular humanitarianism later arose, which helped to make compulsion in religion repugnant to the modern mind. Restraint on belief and persecution of heretics survive as a vestigial reminder of their former importance, and chiefly in areas where Protestantism is of inconsiderable strength. Nothing would more astonish a sixteenth century martyr who might revisit the world than to find that in our century persecution is far more antireligious than religious. Most Christians of today are fully convinced that Church unity is to be sought by other means than compulsion.

Yet the urge toward a comprehensive unity of the Christian Church never was stronger or more vigorously manifested than now. While the heart of the kindly Puritan would again be "cut asunder" on viewing the evils of division if he were with us now, he would find some compensating encouragement in the achievement of men of a spirit like his during the last hundred years. Thanks to their faith and labor, there has arisen a powerful unitive movement in Christianity that demands and creates the organizational framework of a world-wide spiritual fellowship in which unnumbered Christians share.

II

How this has come about is a long and complicated story that "many have taken in hand to set forth in order" (Luke 1:1), and that can be brought to notice here only in part and with great brevity. The whole history of the Church may be interpreted in terms of

the effort to gain or maintain its integration and the corporate unity of its geographically extended body. Great rifts and secessions occurred in the early centuries, and the medieval Church brought forth a bewilderingly numerous brood of sects. From the beginning of the Reformation the problem of schism haunted Christian leaders more than ever. It was Luther's early hope to draw into communion with the Western Church both the Greek Orthodox and the Bohemian Hussites who had been severed from the papacy. He repeatedly appealed for a free general council that would institute measures of reform for all Christendom. As Protestantism began to form families of churches, zealous efforts were made to forestall disruption or attain unity. Martin Bucer, John à Lasco, John Calvin, and Theodore Beza were among those who in the sixteenth century spent much energy seeking to advance this cause. As Christ is Head of the Church, they believed, it is by its proper nature one in him. The children of Geneva were taught that the Holy Catholic Church is called catholic or universal because:

"as there is but one Head of all believers, so they must all be united in one body, that the Church diffused through the whole world may be one, and not more,"

and that through the communion of saints all the faithful participate in "whatever benefits God bestows upon the Church."

This was characteristic teaching. John Jewel, speaking for the Church of England in 1562, admirably expresses the common Reformation view:

"We believe that there is one Church of God, and that not confined, as it was heretofore, to the Jewish people, in one angle or kingdom, but that it is catholic and universal, and so diffused or spread over the face of the whole earth that there is no nation that can justly claim that it is excluded . . . that Christ is the only prince of this kingdom" (*Apology for the Anglican Church*, ii, 6).

Although the Reformers emphasized the spiritual and invisible aspect of the Church, they also taught that the Catholic Church of the Apostles' Creed is visible wherever the gospel is truly preached and

the sacraments are rightly administered. They would all have approved in substance the Westminster Confession of Faith (1647) in its statements:

“The visible Church, which is also catholic or universal under the gospel (not confined to one nation, as before under the law), consists of all those throughout the world that profess the true religion, together with their children; and is the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, the house and family of God, out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation. . . . This catholic Church hath been sometimes more, sometimes less, visible. . . . There is no head of the church but the Lord Jesus Christ” (XXV, ii, iv, vi).

The emphasis on Christ's headship of the Church was set over against the papal headship. The unity sought was to be expressed not by obedience to a pope alleged to hold authority as successor of Peter, but through councils representing the Church in all its parts, guided by the Holy Spirit and free from papal control. This was in substance the doctrine of the Conciliarists of the fourteenth and the early fifteenth century. It had been formally declared in high terms at the Council of Constance in 1415, and roundly condemned in 1460 by Pope Pius II. From an early stage the Reformers varied the teaching of the Conciliarists by a specific exclusion of the pope. “A free general Christian council” was the oft-reiterated demand of Luther and of Calvin. In fact, a council for general pacification and reform was the pipe dream of the Reformation age. Emperors and kings favored settlement by a council, hoping to exert a determining influence upon it. The only actual religious council that could in some sense be called “general” was that of Trent; but it was not truly representative and it was not free.

Nevertheless, as countless documents show, the conciliar hope of a unified Church representatively governed was always a factor in the thoughts and plans of Protestant leaders. In a memorandum written by Calvin in December, 1560, during a ten-year interruption of the Council of Trent, and when a treaty between French and Imperial rulers had caused new talk of a general settlement, we read one of the numerous proposals of this sort. The Reformer

states that "a free and universal council" is needed "to put an end to the existing divisions of Christianity." It must be free with respect to place of meeting, membership, and discussion, and bound only by Scripture. He recommends, for convenience and fairness to all, a location central to the peoples represented. The main points in doctrine, worship, and polity to be discussed and determined are set down. A national synod may enact reforms for the national area, but only a genuinely universal council, he affirms, can heal the miseries of Christendom. In the light of such appeals as this it is hardly surprising that Protestantism has generally adopted conciliar, or representative polities, or that the ecumenical movement should produce a World Council of Churches.

National differences, political disturbances, widespread wars, difficulties of travel, theological disputes, indifference, and bigotry were factors in the failure of these brave hopes. The seventeenth century saw schism upon schism. Countless zealous sects and autonomous movements appeared. While Baxter grieved, the great bishop of Meaux, Jacques Bénigne Bossuet, described in another mood "the variations of Protestantism" as proofs of its inherent perversity derived from the inconstancies of Luther and the "dizzy madness in his head." The Puritan revolt in England and the execution of King Charles I are evidence to him that Protestantism is the fruit of a spirit of disruption, destructive of social order and political security. This view is still reflected in the work of numerous historians, although it fails to account for the relative political security of Protestant countries and the sincere quest of religious unity by innumerable Protestant leaders. The coming disintegration and extinction of Protestantism is still a dogma within the eschatology of some of its adversaries. These prophets fail to observe that when it divides it is not in all cases disintegration that ensues, but sometimes fresh energy and growth, and that severed Protestant Churches are sometimes reunited in firmer bonds than before.

Nevertheless, Protestantism has been plagued by schism and sectarianism. It has lacked the firm restraint of unified authority and has ordinarily employed no means except persuasion of checking wayward or radical thought. It has encouraged freedom of opinion

and discussion. The historic fact of the Reformation tends to create a psychological readiness for another reformation anywhere and at any time, and an unwillingness to quench any "new light" that may "break forth." If a denomination becomes anxiously protective of its beliefs and practices, it is the more apt to give birth to a minority group convinced of possessing fresh illumination. Thus we have reached a stage of fragmentation that neither Baxter nor Bossuet knew.

III

For a long time the splintering up of the Protestant communions was scarcely even retarded by the protests and activities of those who deplored and sought to reverse the trend. The efforts of these devoted apostles of unity in unfavorable times constitute a fascinating story with heroic episodes. Their names form an imposing roll of ministerial and lay leaders widely representative of the Western lands and churches. The man whom Baxter most admired for his labors on behalf of Protestant unity was John Dury (1596-1680), a resourceful Scot who spent half a century in undiscouraged, if apparently unfruitful, activity in the cause of ecumenical unity during what he called a "contentious and dividing age." Letters and treatises poured from his pen; he traveled widely and conferred with countless men of distinction in church and public life. Some of those he consulted co-operated with him, some were indifferent, and some were hostile. He may be charged with impatience and ineptitude, and with a failure to realize fully the force of denominational habits and national feeling. In the light of later history, his projects appear utopian. Like others of his age, he looked to the rulers of States to aid his reforms. While he was deeply interested in education and pastoral theology and wrote ably on these topics, he did not stir the churches deeply or found a lasting movement.

Still, leaders of the present-day ecumenical movement might in some sense call him their predecessor. His idea, as first set forth amply in his *Method of Procedure* (1632), involved a sequence of conferences. Difficulties within German Lutheranism and within

the Reformed Churches would be ironed out in the first series of these meetings; then the negotiations would be taken up in joint conferences; and finally all evangelical Churches of Europe, including those of Britain, would send representatives to a General Assembly to frame a consensus for all the Churches. There is something here that is prophetic of twentieth century developments: the project is far more complex than the sixteenth century proposal for one deliberative and legislative general council.

Dury was for a time personally associated with Baxter (in a Church co-operation plan for Worcestershire) and Baxter published favorable accounts of Dury's activities abroad. But in *The True Catholic* (1660), one of Baxter's many writings in the cause of unity, he expressed feelings of depression over the misunderstanding and mischief that often arose in response to such well-meant efforts as Dury's, and the great difficulties placed in the way of their success:

"It is a pitifull case with the poor afflicted Church of Christ, that almost all her Members cry out against Division, and yet cause and increase it, while they speak against it. And that all cry up Unity, and yet very few do any thing that's very considerable to promote it; but multitudes are destroying Unity, while they commend it: And those few that would heal and close the wounds, are not able by the clearest reasons, and most importunate requests, to hold the hands of others from opposing it; and to get leave of the rest to do that work, which they will not do themselves while they extoll it. You would think this were rather the description of a Bedlam, than of a Christian! To set all on fire, and furiously to rail at all that would quench it, and at the same time to rail as much at incendiaries, and cry out for Concord, and against Division, and call other men all that's naught, for doing that which they do themselves, and will not be perswaded from? . . . Nay sinne gets advantage in point of Reputation, and Dividing is counted a work of Zeal, and Ministers themselves are the principal leaders of it; yea and Ministers of eminent parts and piety; and piety itself is pretended for this, which is the poison of piety: and pacification is become a suspected or derided work; and the Peacemakers are presently suspected of some heresie; and perhaps call'd Dividers for seeking Reconciliation. It made my heart ake with grief, the other day, to read over the Narrative of the endeavours of one man (M. John Dury) to heal the Protestant Churches

themselves, and to think that so much ado should be necessary to make even the leaders of the Christian flocks to be willing, to cease so odious a sinne, and come out of so long and dolefull a misery; yea, and that all should do so little good, and get from men but a few good words, while they can sit still and suffer the flames to consume the deplorable remnant: Yea such havock hath division made, and cut the Church into so many pieces, that it is become one of the commonest Questions among us, which of these pieces it is that is the Church: One saith, *We are the Catholick Church*; and another saith, *No, but it is We!* and a third contendeth, that it is *onely they*: and thus men seem to be at a losse, and when they believe the *holy Catholick Church*, they know not what it is, which they say, they believe. Though I dare not presume to hope of much success, in any attempts against this distraction, after the frustration of the farre greater endeavours of multitudes that have attempted it with farre greater advantage, yet I have resolved by the help of Christ, to bear witness against the sinne of the Dividers, and leave my testimony on record to posterity, that if it may not excite some others to the work, yet at least it may let them know, that all were not void of Desires for Peace in this contentious age."

This is manifestly written in a mood of sharp disappointment. It is a confession of defeat for a cause that deserves to win. Yet the closing sentence is a stirring testimony and appeal to later generations. The advocates of ecumenical Christianity were frustrated and grieved, but not despairful. There would come other generations in which the ineffectual minority would be a convinced majority, and Christ's prayer for unity would be manifestly in process of fulfillment. We today begin to reap the fruits of the invincible faith of such men as Baxter, "true catholics" who refused to renounce the temporarily defeated cause of Christian unity.

One could assemble a substantial library of treatises containing proposals for Church union, mutual recognition and intercommunion, written in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These deserve a great deal more attention from historians than they have received. They should be studied, not merely for the variations in the methods proposed, but as records of a valiant band of pioneers in ecclesiastical idealism. The time will come when Protestants will realize that these men were truer and profounder interpreters than those who defended denominational segments of the faith. A careful

attention to the Reformation sources will reveal that its deeper meaning is unitive and universal rather than particularistic. It is this that is being demonstrated in the ecumenical movement of this century. Although some tend to think of this movement as something new and strange, even as a negation of Protestantism, it is actually an affirmation and fulfillment of the Reformation spirit. If Protestantism were in essence a disorderly assemblage of armed sects, we should do well to desert it for almost any religious camp.

The collection of treatises suggested above would contain the weighty *Irenicum* of David Pareus of Heidelberg (1614); various writings of George Calixtus of Helmstadt, who for his "syncretism" was a controversial figure in Lutheran theology; *The Peace of the Church* (1616) by "Rupert Meldenius" (Peter Meiderlin), inventor of the slogan, "In things necessary, unity; in things not necessary, liberty; in all things, charity"; the notably able *Irenicum* of John Forbes (1629); the *Eirenikon* of Moïse Amyraut (1662), eminent teacher at Saumur; as well as works and letters of G. W. von Leibniz the philosopher and of William Wake, archbishop of Canterbury; and the *Pacific Address to the Protestants* (1720) of Christian Pfaff of Tübingen. The sheer bulk of such treatises is impressive. In 1723 there appeared a printed list of about 150 titles of discussions of Lutheran-Reformed unity, nearly all of which had been published within the previous three years. Decade by decade countless writers took up the theme of a future union of Churches, and no generation was allowed to forget it.

IV

The Lutheran-Reformed issue was in frequent discussion in the seventeenth century. George Calixtus wrote a partly historical treatise about it, *The Way to Peace Among Protestants*, and from the Reformed side we have a notable little book to the same purpose: *On Agreement and Disagreement of the Reformed with the Brethren of the Augsburg Confession* (1697), by the Geneva theologian, Benedict Pictet. In the urgent preface Pictet exhorts the Lutherans. We both have, he says, the same God and the same Scripture, reject the same heresies, assent alike to the ancient creeds and the first four ecumenical councils.

“What, then, separates us? Why do we turn the trumpet of Zion into the clarion of Mars? . . . Why should brethren fall by mutual wounds? . . . I adjure you all by the tender mercies of God and by the precious blood of his only Son, that you render peace to the Protestant world. Let the names ‘Lutheran’ and ‘Calvinist’ be blotted out; let altar no longer be set over against altar. Eagerly we offer you communion . . . nay, we entreat you. O happy day when your churches and ours shall spring to each other’s embrace, and joining hands and hearts we shall come together into one body—with the blessing of God, the applause of angels, and the rejoicings of saints!”

The two treaties of Calixtus and Pictet were reprinted and may be read in one volume (Helmstadt, 1700). But they were without traceable effect upon ecclesiastical policies. They witness to the realization by their authors not only of the undesirability of separation but of “mutual wounds,” and widely prevailing alienation and prejudice. One of the favorite words used in such appeals in that period is “pacification.” Quarrels between the communions, and quarrels within them, seemed unending. Controversies were to be allayed as a condition of the negotiation of fraternal unity. All too frequently the honest and pious seeker of Christian union was denounced as a traitor to denominational tradition. We have outgrown to a large degree this habit of mind; but we have outgrown it slowly.

One main point of resistance to unitive effort lay in the persistent rejection by Lutheran churches of projects of union advanced by the Reformed. Many Lutherans deplored this policy, but it was not reversed. Modern Lutheran scholars have offered uncontroversial explanations of this traditional attitude, and of its persistence in some degree to the present time. Lutherans have insisted upon complete doctrinal agreement (*consensus de doctrina evangelii et de administratione sacramentorum*, Augsburg Confession, vii) as the necessary condition of intercommunion. Hermann Sasse, in *Here We Stand*, defends this traditional Lutheran refusal of Reformed advances. In this Lutherans have acted, he says, not on cultural, racial, or national motives, but on doctrinal grounds alone. He somewhat impatiently declares that for four hundred years they

have been confronted with an ultimatum: "Let the Lutherans declare at last that they are ready to introduce altar fellowship with the Reformed." He represents this as a demand renewed in each crisis of politics or persecution, with a view to forming a common front against a common foe. The resistance of Lutheranism is thus resistance to temptation to compromise through fear of danger. To many, including some Lutherans, this explanation may not seem adequate, but it ought not to be surprising, or to be dismissed as insincere. Lutherans have always guarded the inviolability of their official doctrinal statements. The Formula of Concord adopted by German Lutherans in 1580 judges Luther's catechisms to be "in a sense the Bible of the laity," and represents its own articles on the Lord's Supper as terms of communion (X:5). Jacob Andreae in 1585 refused the right hand of fellowship proffered by Beza, as Luther in 1529 had refused the hand of Zwingli. We make a mistake when we attribute these dramatic repulses to petulance and not to principle. "My faith is at stake," a young Lutheran once said to me, with manifest emotion, when these matters were recalled. Numerous exceptions to this defensive attitude, however, have appeared among notable Lutheran writers, and these include several well-remembered leaders of American Lutheranism.

V

The Christian consciousness is never detached from the common social experiences of mankind: it merely appropriates these experiences in its own way. Luke had to begin the gospel story with the wholly secular information: "In those days a decree went out from Caesar Augustus that all the world should be enrolled." "The whole *oikoumene*": so the Roman Empire was described, being presumably thought of as, for practical purposes, as far-flung as the dwelling places of man. The word "ecumenical" has this sense of geographic plenitude. It is idle to minimize human geography in the conception of ecumenicity. The fact that the word "ecumenical" was applied to the early general councils is not unconnected with the idea that they were general in a geographical sense. The provinces of the whole Church were represented in them. "Ecumenical"

is a difficult word for the uneducated, and to the fastidious theologian it may seem too secular. But it expresses well the world mission laid upon the heart of the New Testament Church. God "made . . . every nation of men to live on all the face of the earth," and where man dwells, the Church will go. The Christian Church was born geography-conscious, and would be content with no less than a total expansion as wide as the human occupation of the world and a total unity therein ("*ut omnes unum sint*," "*in universum mundum*").

The expression "the ecumenical movement" is of recent adoption. It was only in 1936, according to Leonard Hodgson, that a "Faith and Order" document first used the phrase. This date, however, is of no special significance for the movement itself. If we regard the men of ecumenical spirit to whom we have called attention as its forerunners and not its founders, we must look for its real beginnings in the great psychological changes that affected Christians and churches in the eighteenth century. The conception of a world mission became vital in Protestantism through the activity of the Halle Pietists from 1705. The races of the world were still quite inadequately known to Europeans. Later in the century the story of the voyages of Captain James Cook (d. 1779) in the Pacific aroused in Britain an intense popular interest in far and strange peoples. The Evangelical Revival was then in full tide. Its leaders too took the whole globe as their field of action. Yet Wesley saw so many seeming improbabilities in Cook's *Voyages* that he pronounced the story fiction "like *Robinson Crusoe*." A lad named William Carey, however, on reading the book, associated the new world of exploration with the call of the gospel. He was to make a new beginning of Christian missions. As the missionary movement grew, he proposed (1810) an annual conference in Cape Town of missionaries from all fields to co-ordinate and energize the evangelical missions.

It was inevitable that this idea would suggest itself to others and take other forms. When Alexander Duff, Scottish missionary stationed in Calcutta, visited Philadelphia in February, 1854, his sponsors resolved to hold "a General Missionary Conference," and this led to the "Union Missionary Convention" that met in Broadway

Tabernacle, New York City, the following May. At this convention Dr. Duff delivered a vigorous public address, in the course of which he ascribed the idea of the gathering to "the teeming mind of a citizen of Philadelphia—a layman too—who has a soul great enough to embrace the whole world—Mr. George H. Stuart." I quote this, lest the great-souled layman be forgotten. Duff rejoiced with his enthusiastic hearers in the victory over "narrowness, bigotry, and exclusiveness," and the growth of brotherly love, that marked the occasion.

The scene is reminiscent of another that had taken place at the founding of the London Missionary Society, with interdenominational support, in 1795, where, amid a storm of applause from a vast assemblage, David Bogue exclaimed: "Behold us here assembled with one accord to attend the funeral of bigotry!" Such was the spirit of evangelical missions, and of the early modern missionary movement. In this spirit denominational rivalries on mission fields were minimized, and ultimately methods of co-operation and comity were developed. In 1838 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions undertook to consult with missionaries who had preceded in any field where work was to be opened. But "bigotry" did not perish overnight. Opposition to co-operation asserted itself. The stress of rivalry was felt, and grave conflicts seemed to impend. It was not until the so-called Centenary Conference of Protestant Missions, London, 1888, that comprehensive proposals for comity were first advanced. From comity, or the denominational division of territory, men went on to think of unity, and to institute plans for bringing together indigenous churches of different origin.

Already the missionaries were being urged toward union by their own converts. "They say plainly," one speaker reported at this conference, "it is you foreigners that keep us apart." The repercussions within the sending communions of this reaction on the field must be regarded as a significant element in the ecumenical education of Western Churches. The historical point at which this can best be observed is the seventh World Missionary Conference held at Edinburgh in 1910. This epochal meeting received searching reports

from eight commissions, one of which dealt explicitly with the problem of unity and division. Recognizing that the Church was to "face a mighty conflict," the Conference found "a real unity of aim underlying" outward differences and separation, while the Christian testimony to the world was weakened by its divisions. The object of missionary effort should be to plant in each land not sects but one united Church of Christ. The Conference in settling a policy for missions was challenging the Churches. It had importance too for the profound impression made upon young men who were to become eminent ecumenical leaders, among them William Temple, Charles Brent, and Nathan Söderblom. It was also partly because Edinburgh, 1910, projected its influence by means of a dozen special committees that something was here done to the Protestant Churches which would not be undone.

Another factor leading to the present movement was the Evangelical Alliance, an association first conceived in Scotland and formed by meetings in Liverpool, 1845, and London, 1846, the object of which was to testify "that a living and everlasting union binds all the believers together in the fellowship of the Church." The Alliance adopted a somewhat conservative set of beliefs, not intended as a confession or creed. It held world conferences at irregular intervals of years and published the addresses delivered at these. It was designed not to negotiate unions but to express the views of its members and to record the information they contributed from their various corners of the world. It was greatly interested in religious liberty, especially as this was associated with evangelical propaganda, and it induced many churches to join in an annual week of prayer at New Year. Adopting the old motto of Rupert Meldenius, "In things necessary, unity; in things not necessary, liberty; in all things, charity," the Evangelical Alliance helped to promote fraternity between leading figures in the different Churches and to develop an all-Protestant consciousness.

It was while the Evangelical Alliance was in process of formation that John Henry Newman passed from Anglicanism to Roman Catholicism. The Alliance was, indeed, something of a protest against the catholicizing efforts of Newman, Pusey, and their asso-

ciates at Oxford. As we saw above, the Church of England, having suffered secessions to Rome, recovered its stability, and the Oxford Movement went on under the influence of Pusey, who looked toward Anglican union with Eastern and Roman Catholicism.

VI

Amid the numerous proposals for Church co-operation and unity that were put forth in America in the nineteenth century, none was more important than that contained in a book by the Episcopalian William Reed Huntington, *The Church Idea* (1870). The author belonged to a group in the Episcopal Church, led by Bishop W. A. Muhlenberg, that had sought fellowship beyond their own denomination. In his last chapter Huntington calls the Anglican Communion "the church of the reconciliation," and defines its position in four principles "which make the Quadrilateral of pure Anglicanism," and on which he proposes to seek Christian reunion. Discussions that followed led to the adoption by the Episcopal General Convention, meeting in Chicago in 1886, of this Quadrilateral, with a preamble that disclaims any desire to absorb other communions. The Quadrilateral, slightly modified, was adopted by the Lambeth Conference of bishops of 1888. It briefly states belief in the authority of Scripture, the Nicene Creed, the two sacraments, and "the historic episcopate."

The last phrase was to become familiar in subsequent ecumenical discussion, but it has proved surprisingly difficult to clarify. It cannot, in fact, be used as an exact term of discussion, since, historically, the episcopate, even within the Anglican Church, has been different at different times, and has varied widely from any of the forms it assumed in the Church before Constantine. *The Church Review* (New York) in 1890 published a series of interpretations of the Lambeth propositions, to which some non-Anglicans contributed. Among these Charles A. Briggs pointed to the variety of views on the episcopate held within churches practicing it and proposed, as a Presbyterian, to accept it on the interpretation that it exists *jure humano* and not *jure divino* — in the words of an Ohio

bishop, as "not a doctrine but a fact." Bishop W. S. Perry, however, would have none of this interpretation. He stated that as one who voted at both Chicago and Lambeth he was confident that the intention in these meetings was not to countenance any admission of a human origin of the episcopate, but to assert its divine authority and apostolic origin. These papers reflect similar discussions in England at the time.

The first responses to the Lambeth Quadrilateral proved typical of most later learned and popular interpretation. Ecclesiastical convictions are so strong that an objective historical view of the early ministry seems usually to elude even the most learned. The affirmation of the episcopate as "a self-recruiting essential ministry" (in distinction from the presbyterate and the diaconate which are "dependent" upon it) whose duties were "handed on" from the apostles (the language is that of an eminent bishop of Oxford) has been insistent on the part of High-churchmen. The historical argument for this view has been elaborately presented but has proved convincing only to those disposed to be convinced. The doctrine that the ministry rests upon a divine-right episcopacy has, indeed, a very different history from that of the episcopate itself. In the Latin church it has appeared from time to time. But the Council of Trent merely affirmed the superiority of bishops over presbyters. In Vatican I papal supremacy tends to obscure episcopal authority, while Vatican II spells out the duties and dignities of the episcopate as a divine institution.

Those who hold episcopacy to be essential to the being of a church are often inclined to regard the doctrine that it is such to be itself a term of communion. Episcopalians who assert this doctrine logically should excommunicate the other Episcopalians who reject it; but in this matter charity triumphs over logic. It is only when approaches are made from nonepiscopal communions that the doctrine is invoked, and the applicants are in effect asked to add to the creed a modern clause: "I believe in the episcopate as of divine institution without which no church exists." Since the episcopate is essential to a church, churches that practice presbyterial ordination are not churches; their presbyters, not being ordained by bishops, are not

presbyters, and projects of union with such pseudo churches are betrayals of the *una sancta ecclesia*. These convictions are piously and immovably held, and, on the other hand, rejected with no less sincerity. If they were shared by all members of the Churches in which they appear, they would make impossible all communion and reciprocity between the great families of Churches.

Fortunately Anglicanism as such has made no commitment to this absolute principle. The Lambeth Conference of 1920, indeed, declared for an "equitable approach to union by way of mutual deference to one another's consciences." In later conversations with Free Churchmen (1922) and in the Lambeth documents of 1930, the principle was accepted that in a future union episcopacy should be retained without requirement of "any particular theory as to its origin and character." In this spirit Anglicans have joined in the movement for Church union in South India and entered with two nonepiscopal Churches the Church of South India (1947).

The formation of this Church (1947) marks the most advanced step in corporate union so far taken. It is not without significance that this union has been achieved in an area that was a mission field for numerous denominations. The Indian Churches have gone far ahead of the Churches by whose missionaries they were planted. They wisely and courageously adopted the only position on which progress toward a united and ecumenical church is possible: that of recognition of existing ministries. South India has thus led the way by furnishing an example of genuine union in which episcopalians and non-episcopalians join wholeheartedly and on a basis of equality. But circumstances differ and it need not be supposed that the South India Church will serve everywhere as a model for imitation in detail. Yet with few exceptions Western Christians have applauded the step, and regard it as a good omen of union to come for them also. The proposal encountered constant opposition from Anglo-Catholics. In dealing with it, opposing scholars have found new angles of interpretation of the Early Church, so that each side remains fully convinced that it is historically secure. One opponent of the union, Trevor Jalland, proposed as an alterna-

tive the immediate adoption of episcopal government by the non-episcopal Churches and a period of approximation by them to Anglican standards after which their ministry would receive ordination from Anglican bishops. The Church of South India is episcopal, but some of its bishops were formerly nonepiscopal, and no such scheme of probation and absorption as that of Dr. Jalland would in the slightest degree accord with the spirit of the union.

This issue, which involves the whole doctrine of the ministry, has proved more frustrating in Western lands. During recent years it has haunted the numerous commissions and committees engaged on aspects of union in England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Canada, Australia and the United States. A recent report (1966) on extensive conversations between Anglicans and Presbyterians in Britain treats with balanced appreciation the varying conceptions of the apostolic ministry, viewing these both historically and as they are related to practical issues. The tendency to provide for greater lay participation in the church activities and decisions cannot but affect rigid concepts of the ministry. The rise in Roman Catholicism of the principle suggested by the term "lay apostolate," the testimony and service of church members in ordinary life, has a bearing upon the notion of apostolic ministry. Often those who are most concerned for faith and faithfulness in ministers are relatively indifferent to matters of continuity and "order."

In the American scene much interest attaches to the Consultation on Church Union. This body was organized in 1962 in continuation of a movement begun from an utterance made in December, 1960, by Eugene Carson Blake, then stated clerk of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church and now Secretary of the World Council of Churches. After years of thoughtful study in which representatives of eight churches have regularly participated, the Consultation, fully aware of the historical and practical aspects of the divergent inherited views of the ministry, has made the crucial decision (1966) to go forward in the expectation that the impediments to union of episcopal with non-episcopal churches will be overcome. In increasing number American denominations have associated themselves with the Consultation. If success is finally

achieved, the majority of American Protestants will be embraced within one communion, a church "reformed and catholic," combining in its unified ministry and polity episcopal, presbyterial and other elements.

VII

Ecumenical studies and approaches in recent years have exhibited growing mutual understanding and considerateness. All concerned are seeking as never before the interests of the whole Church in all the world. Denominations may prize their worthy traditions but they try to avoid allowing the past to stifle wholesome growth and change. Christians in union discussion become aware that it is fatuous to seek to restore a structure of polity that we suppose to have existed in the first or the second century. In every century variety and change come to light under study. Even if we could historically identify a pattern of church structure widespread and stable for half a century, it would be idle to try to reproduce it in our age. The ancient Church was an adaptable institution and was constantly making adjustments to match the shifting conditions and opportunities amid which it grew. We can never closely imitate it; but we may at least learn from it to tolerate variety and well directed change. Once we are together so committed to the leading of the Holy Spirit that we have no craving for mere wilful revolution, there is nothing in church polity that lies outside the realm of the "*semper reformanda*." In an impressive sentence in the last paragraph of the Decree on Ecumenism of Vatican II, hope is expressed that Catholics and "separated brethren" will together go forward in the ecumenical task "without prejudging the future inspiration of the Holy Spirit." The challenge to the Church in our day must be met in a spirit at once reverent and fearlessly creative.

In ecumenical literature a great deal has from time to time been said about sin and repentance as applied to denominations. Certainly we are all guilty of uncharitable denominational attitudes and harsh and arrogant behavior toward those of other communions,

and for all that remains of this spirit we need to repent. But here discrimination is necessary. It is hardly possible that any denomination can honestly repent of its very existence. The dismemberment of the Visible Church is, indeed, the common grief of all true Christians. Schism is a deadly evil, and where it has arisen someone has been to blame. But it is far from true that the blame should always rest mainly upon the communion that took the new name. It is demonstrable that in many instances new denominations were founded by men of excellent intention and deep piety whose consciences would not permit them to acquiesce in prevailing abuses. Some of them were much less arrogant than their opponents—and than their successors. Where they were blameworthy, no good will come of an indiscriminate bewailing of their offenses mingled with smug assurance of our own superiority. It is not, as a rule, by taking flight from our own denomination to any other that we can make a contribution to ecumenical Christianity, but rather by loyally accepting the church in which we have been nurtured and laboring to promote within it a desire for true fellowship with all others in which the Christian faith is sincerely held.

Noteworthy in the temper of the unity-seeking churches today is the patience of those in the forward line who are themselves ready for more prompt action than they see to be practicable. At the same time there may be discerned among church members a rising general expectation of widening communion to come. It would, however, be a mistake to assume that all future acts of church union will escape the impairment caused by resistant minorities. There are always those who cherish their denominational uniqueness. An element of the press that thrives on faction and intolerance will take occasion to exaggerate every unresolved difference and mischievously spread alarm among the hesitant. On the other hand, the fact that members of churches formed by recent unions are obviously happy with the result may be counted on to accelerate the progress of unification. By many testimonies, they are conscious of spiritual enrichment and emancipation, an increment of resources and a widening of horizons. The cumulative effect of a series of unions is already a factor disposing many Christians in all groups to participate in ecumenical discussion and cooperation.

VIII

The Ecumenical Revival, arising in conversations among Anglicans, Orthodox, and Protestants, has never been in controversy with Roman Catholicism. The extraordinary change (indicated in the previous chapter) in the relations of the clergy and members of the Roman Communion with those of churches outside it, is one of the most significant phenomena of recent history. There is here no immediate expectation of organic union; but mutual suspicion has largely melted away, and a true fraternity of spirit is finding expression in innumerable ways. Already across the organizational chasm there are situations in which effective co-operation takes place, often on local initiative, and social causes amid which the moral voice of a Common Christianity is coming to be heard with new respect in the world. The entire Christian Church is feeling a deepening sense of the necessity of involvement in and testimony before the world on the part of all its members. The New Delhi world conference (1961), and, in more detail the Vatican decrees, have indicated the possibility of more specific lay witness in daily contacts and occupations. The churches are being awakened and drawn together by common dangers and common opportunities. All parts of the total Church are deeply disturbed in theology, and all share the impact of the forces of anti-religion and moral anarchy. No church is an island. The problems, difficulties and dangers they share can best be met in association and co-operative effort. As the world society becomes mechanically so unified that every province of it is sensitive to what happens in every other, the remaining spiritual disruption brings increased peril. We are all gradually becoming aware of this, and it is a factor in the growth of ecumenism. We shall have "one world" whether we want it or not, and we work and pray that it may not be a world of lifeless ashes.

Like every other movement, ecumenism requires organization. Much of this has been since about 1945 usefully centered in the World Council of Churches and its related agencies. The Council has been subjected to a good deal of criticism, both fair and unfair, not all of it by adversaries of the Church or of ecumenism. But no

perceptive observer will mistake the organization for the movement itself. Most ecumenical activity is initiated spontaneously on the field, not by world committees. In city and village and countryside mutual appreciation, cheerful co-operation and religious dialogue, between members of communions that half a century ago ignored or vilified each other, have become habitual. There is in fact an irresistible movement in course, like an inflowing tide, that conservative denominationalism is no longer able to resist. Few of us, I believe, have yet realized its full force and historic magnitude. Under the ecumenical impulse Christianity itself is unobtrusively taking on a new dimension in the world. Facing attack from increasingly formidable forces the churches are learning to unite their efforts and together to follow, where they recognize it, divine guidance into new areas of service.

The Ecumenical Revival has had an impressive beginning. It continues in mounting strength and is creating an ecclesiastical revolution. The visible Church of the future will not be a replica of any organization of the past or a patchwork of many such. Nor will it be a museum of old theological and liturgical fragments sentimentally prized. Rather it promises to be a vital communion of free believers, each aware that he holds membership in a holy society organized for common work and worship, each sustained by his communion with Christ and with innumerable brethren, loyal and beloved, dwelling in every hamlet of the globe.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

CHAPTER I

- Anderson, James, *Memorable Women of Puritan Times*. Two volumes. London, 1862.
- Bancroft, Richard, *Dangerous Positions and Proceedings . . . under Pretence of Reformation*. London, 1712.
- Baxter, Richard, *The Practical Works of the Reverend Richard Baxter*. Twenty-three volumes. London, 1830.
- Bronkema, Ralph, *The Essence of Puritanism*. Goes, 1929.
- Byington, Ezra Hoyt, *The Puritan as Colonist and Reformer*. Boston, 1899.
- The Puritan in England and New England.*
- Third Edition. Boston, 1897.
- Chambon, Joseph, *Der Puritanismus, sein Weg von der Reformation bis zum Ende der Stuarts*. Zurich, 1944.
- Collinson, Patrick, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*. Berkeley, California, 1967.
- Crouch, Joseph, *Puritanism and Art: An Inquiry into a Popular Fallacy*. London, 1910.
- Dark, Sidney, *The Passing of the Puritan*. London, 1946.
- Davies, Horton, *The Worship of the English Puritans*. Westminster, 1948.
- Flynn, John Stephen, *The Influence of Puritanism on the Political and Religious Thought of the English*. London, 1920.
- Frere, Walter Howard, *Puritan Manifestoes, A Study of the Origin of the Puritan Revolt*. New York, 1907.
- Garrett, Christina Hallowell, *The Marian Exiles. A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism*. Cambridge, 1938.
- Haller, William, *The Rise of Puritanism*. New York, 1938, 1957.
- Hanscom, Elizabeth Deering, *The Heart of the Puritan; Selections from Letters and Journals*. New York, 1917.
- Henson, Herbert Hensley, *Puritanism in England*. London, 1912.

- Jordan, Wilbur Kitchener, *The Development of Religious Toleration in England*. Four volumes. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1936-1941.
- Knappen, Marshall Mason, *Tudor Puritanism, A Chapter in the History of Idealism*. Chicago, 1939, Gloucester, Mass., 1964.
- Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries* by Richard Rogers and Samuel Ward. Chicago, 1933.
- Miller, Perry, *The New England Mind: the Seventeenth Century*. New York, 1939, Cambridge, Mass., 1954, 1961.
- Neal, Daniel, *The History of the Puritans . . . from 1517 . . . to 1688*. Revised Edition. Two volumes. New York, 1843-1844.
- Nuttall, Geoffrey Fillingham, *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience*. Oxford, 1946.
- Parker, Henry, *A Discourse concerning Puritans, Tending to a Vindication*. Second Edition. London, 1641. Ascribed by some to John Ley.
- Pearson, Andrew Forret Scott, *Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism*. Cambridge, 1925.
- Robertson, Hector Menteith, *Aspects of the Rise of Economic Individualism*. Cambridge, 1935.
- Schenk, William, *The Concern for Social Justice in the Puritan Revolution*. London, 1948.
- Schneider, Herbert Wallace. *The Puritan Mind*. New York, 1930, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1955.
- Scholes, Percy Alfred, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England*. London, 1934, New York, 1962.
- Whiting, Charles Edwin, *Studies in English Puritanism from the Restoration to the Revolution, 1660-1688*. London, 1931.
- Wright, Louis Booker, "William Perkins, Elizabethan Apostle of Practical Divinity." *Huntington Library Quarterly*, III, 1940, pp. 171-196.

CHAPTER II

- Baily, Lewes, *The Practice of Piety: Directing a Christian How to Walk that He May Please God*. Amplified by the Author. London, 1669.
- Balseng, Paul, *Labadie et le labadisme: étude historique*. Paris, 1908.
- Bellardi, Werner, *Die Geschichte der "Christlichen Gemeinschaft" in Strassburg (1546-1550)*. Leipzig, 1934.
- Beyer-Fröhlich, Marianne, *Empfindsamkeit, Sturm und Drang*. Leipzig, 1936.
- Bruns, Hans, *Ein Reformator nach der Reformation. Leben und Wirken Philipp Jakob Speners*. Marburg, 1937.
- Bunke, Ernst, *A. H. Francke, der Mann des Glaubens und der Liebe*. Giessen and Basel, 1939.

- Burk, Johann Christian Friedrich, *A Memoir of the Life and Writings of John Bengel*. Translated by R. F. Walker. London, 1837.
- Directorium der Franckeschen Stiftungen, *Die Stiftungen August Hermann Francke's in Halle*. Halle, 1863.
- Franck, Kuno, *A History of German Literature as Determined by Social Forces*. London, 1901.
- Francke, August Hermann, *Pietas Hallensis. An Historical Narration . . .* Edinburgh, 1727.
- Geissendoerfer, Theodor, *Briefe an August Hermann Francke*. Urbana, Illinois, 1939.
- Gloria, Elizabeth, *Der Pietismus als Förderer der Volksbildung*. Zickfeldt, 1933.
- Grünberg, Paul, *Philipp Jakob Spener*. Three volumes. Göttingen, 1893.
- Heppe, Heinrich, *Geschichte des Pietismus und der Mystik in der reformierten Kirche, namentlich der Niederlande*. Leiden, 1879.
- Jüngst-Stetin, Johann, *Pietisten*. Tübingen, 1906.
- Kramer, Gustav, *August Hermann Francke: ein Lebensbild*. Two volumes. Halle, 1880-1882.
- Lang, August, *Puritanismus und Pietismus. Studien, zu ihrer Entwicklung*. Neukirchen, 1941.
- Marholz, Werner, *Der Deutsche Pietismus eine Auswahl von Zeugnissen, Urkunden und Bekenntnissen. . . .* Berlin, 1921.
- Mather, Cotton, *Nuncia bona e terra longinqua: A Brief Account of Some Good and Great Things A-doing for the Kingdom of God in the midst of Europe*. Boston, 1715. Edited by Kuno Franck in *Americana Germanica* (later *German American Annals*) I, 1897, No. 4, pp. 31-66.
- Pinson, Koppel Shub, *Pietism as a Factor in the Rise of German Nationalism*. New York, 1934.
- Ritschl, Albrecht, *Geschichte des Pietismus*. Three volumes. Bonn, 1880-1886.
- Sachse, Julius Friedrich, *German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia, 1855.
- Sessler, John Jacob, *Communal Pietism Among American Moravians*. New York, 1933.
- Spangenberg, August Gottlieb, *The Life of Nicholas Lewis, Count Zinzendorf*. Translated by S. Jackson. London, 1838.
- Spener, Philipp Jakob, *Hauptschriften Philipp Jakob Speners*. Edited by Paul Grünberg. Gotha, 1889.
- Pia Desideria*. Edited by Kurt Aland. Berlin, 1940.

CHAPTER III

- Balleine, George Reginald, *A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England*. London, 1908.
- Boston, Thomas, *Human Nature in Its Fourfold State*. . . . Glasgow, 1757.
- Cell, George Croft, *The Rediscovery of John Wesley*. New York, 1935.
- Coats, Robert Hay, *Types of English Piety*. Edinburgh, 1912.
- Cragg, George G., *Grimshaw of Haworth, a Saint in Eighteenth Century Evangelicalism*. London, 1947.
- Drummond, Henry, *Dwight L. Moody; Impressions and Facts; with an Introduction by George Adam Smith*. New York, 1900.
- Day, Richard Ellsworth, *Bush Aglow: the Life Story of Dwight Lyman Moody*. Philadelphia, 1936.
- Davis, Arthur Paul, *Isaac Watts, His Life and Works*. London, 1948.
- Doddridge, Philip, *The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*. Philadelphia, 1843.
- Elliott-Binns, Leonard Elliott, *The Evangelical Movement in the English Church*. London, 1928.
- Fairchild, Hoxie Neale, *Religious Trends in English Poetry*. Vol. II. New York, 1942.
- Fisher, Edward, *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*. Edited by C. G. McCrie. Glasgow, 1902.
- Gill, Frederick C., *The Romantic Movement and Methodism*. London, 1937.
- Hanna, William, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers*. Edited by James C. Moffat. Four volumes. New York, 1850-1853.
- Harrison, Archibald Walter, *The Evangelical Revival and Christian Reunion*. London, 1932.
- Howse, Ernest Marshall, *Saints in Politics: the Clapham Sect and Modern Freedom*. Toronto, 1952.
- Lee, Umphrey, *The Historical Backgrounds of Early Methodist Enthusiasm*. New York, 1931.
- Loane, Marcus L., *Cambridge and the Evangelical Succession*. London, 1952.
- Loane, Marcus L., *Oxford and the Evangelical Succession*. London, 1951.
- Luccock, Halford Edward; Hutchinson, Paul; and Goodloe, Robert W., *The Story of Methodism*. New York, 1949.
- MacArthur, Kathleen, *The Economic Ethics of John Wesley*. New York, 1936.

- MacEwen, Alexander Robertson, *The Erskines*. Edinburgh, 1900.
- MacInnes, J., *The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland, 1688-1800*. Aberdeen, 1951.
- McConnell, Francis John, *Evangelicals, Revolutionists and Idealists*. New York, 1942.
- Monk, Robert C., *John Wesley: His Puritan Heritage*. Nashville, 1966.
- Nagler, Arthur Milford, *Pietism and Methodism*. Nashville, 1918.
- Poole-Connor, Edward J., *Evangelicalism in England*. London, 1952.
- Schrag, Felix James, "Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen." *Church History*, XIV (1945), pp. 201-216.
- Scott, Thomas, *The Force of Truth: An Authentic Narrative*. Philadelphia, 1793.
- Scougal, Henry, *The Life of God in the Soul of Man*. Edited by W. S. Hudson. Philadelphia, 1948.
- Smyth, Charles Hugh Egerton, *Simeon and Church Order*. Cambridge, 1940.
- Stevens, Abel, *A History of . . . Methodism*. Three volumes. New York, 1858-1861.
- Telford, John, *A Sect that Moved the World*. London, 1907.
- Trinterud, Leonard J., *The Forming of an American Tradition. A Re-examination of Colonial Puritanism*. Philadelphia, 1949.
- Watt, Hugh, *Thomas Chalmers and the Disruption*. Edinburgh, 1943.
- Wesley, John, *The Journal of the Reverend John Wesley*. Edited by Nehemiah Curnock. Eight volumes. London, 1909-1916.
- The Letters of John Wesley*. Edited by John Telford. Eight volumes. London, 1931.
- Works of the Reverend John Wesley*. Edited by John Emory. Third American Edition. Three volumes. New York, 1835.
- Wilberforce, William, *A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians. . . .* Second American Edition. Boston, 1799.
- Williams, William, *Welsh Calvinistic Methodism. A Historical Sketch*. Second Edition. London, 1884.

CHAPTER IV

- Brandreth, Henry Renaud Turner, *The Oecumenical Ideals of the Oxford Movement*. London, 1947.
- Brilioth, Yngve Torgny, *The Anglican Revival. Studies in the Oxford Movement*. London, 1925.
- Brilioth, Yngve Torgny, *Three Lectures on Evangelicalism and the Oxford Movement*. London, 1934.

- Church, Richard William, *The Oxford Movement, Twelve Years, 1833-1845*. London, 1891.
- Clarke, Charles Philip Stewart, *The Oxford Movement and After*. London and Oxford, 1932.
- Coleridge, Sir John Taylor, *A Memoir of the Reverend John Keble*. Second Edition. New York, 1875.
- Dawson, Christopher Henry, *The Spirit of the Oxford Movement*. New York, 1933.
- Fairbairn, Andrew Martin, *Catholicism Roman and Anglican*. New York, 1899.
- Froude, Richard Hurrell, *Remains of the Late Richard Hurrell Froude*. London, 1838-1839.
- Guiney, Louise Imogen, *Hurrell Froude: Memoranda and Comments*. London, 1904.
- Harrold, Charles Frederick, *John Henry Newman, An Expository and Critical Study*. . . . London and New York, 1945.
- Knox, Edward Arbutnott, *The Tractarian Movement 1833-1845*. London, 1933.
- Liddon, Henry Parry, *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey*. Four volumes. London and New York, 1893-1897.
- May, James Lewis, *The Oxford Movement, Its History and Its Future*. London, 1933.
- Middletown, Robert Dudley, *Newman at Oxford; His Religious Development*. New York, 1950.
- Newman, John Henry, *Apologia pro vita sua* (1864). London, 1890.
- Ollard, Sidney Leslie, *A Short History of the Oxford Movement*. London and Milwaukee, 1915.
- Peck, William George, *The Social Implications of the Oxford Movement*. New York and London, 1933.
- Pusey, Edward Bouverie, *Eirenicon*. Three volumes. London, 1865-1870.
- Pusey, Edward Bouverie, *Nine Sermons Preached Before the University of Oxford . . . 1843-1855*. London, 1879.
- Russell, George William Erskine, *Dr. Pusey*. London and Oxford, 1912.
- Sencourt, Robert (R. E. G. George), *The Life of Newman*. London, 1948.
- Shaw, Plato Ernest, *The Early Tractarians and the Eastern Church*. Milwaukee and London, 1930.
- Sockman, Ralph W., *The Revival of the Conventual Life in the Church of England in the Nineteenth Century*. New York, 1917.

- Stewart, Herbert Leslie, *A Century of Anglo-Catholicism*. New York, 1929.
- Taylor, Isaac, *Ancient Christianity and the Doctrines of the Oxford Tracts for the Times*. Two volumes. London, 1839-1842.
- Tracts for the Times*, by Members of the University of Oxford. Six volumes. London, 1839-1841.
- Thureau-Dangin, Paul Marie Pierre, *The English Catholic Revival in the Nineteenth Century* . . . revised and re-edited from a translation by . . . Wilfred Wilberforce. Two volumes. London, 1914.
- Walsh, Walter, *The Secret History of the Oxford Movement*. London, 1898.
- Ward, Maisie, *Young Mr. Newman*. New York, 1948.
- Ward, Wilfred Philip, *The Life of John Henry, Cardinal Newman*. Two volumes. New York and London, 1912.
- Ward, Wilfred Philip, *William George Ward and the Oxford Movement*. London, 1889.
- Ward, Wilfred Philip, *William George Ward and the Catholic Revival*. London, 1912.
- Webb, Clement Charles Julian, *Religious Thought in the Oxford Movement*. London, 1928.
- Williams, Thomas Jay, *Priscilla Lydia Sellon*. London, 1950.

CHAPTER V

- Bailey, Donald and Marsh, John (Editors), *Intercommunion: the Report of the Theological Commission . . . of the World Conference on Faith and Order*. London, 1952.
- Batten, Joseph Minton, *John Dury, Advocate of Christian Reunion*. Chicago, 1944.
- Bell, George Kennedy Allen, *Christian Unity: the Anglican Position*. London, 1948.
- Bell, George Kennedy Allen, *Documents on Christian Unity, 1920-1924*, London, 1924; *Second Series, 1925-1929*, London, 1930; *Third Series, 1930-1948*, London, 1948.
- Brandreth, Henry Renaud Turner, *Unity and Reunion, A Bibliography*. London, 1945.
- Briggs, Charles Augustus, *Church Unity: Studies of Its Most Important Problems*. New York, 1909.
- Brown, Arthur Judson, *Unity and Missions*. New York, 1915.
- Brown, William Adams, *Toward a United Church; Three Decades of*

- Ecumenical Christianity*. Edited by S. M. Cavert. New York, 1946.
- Callaghan, Daniel, *The New Church and Catholic Reform*. New York, 1966.
- Carter, Charles Sydney, *The Reformation and Reunion*. London, 1935.
- Douglas, Harlan Paul, *Church Unity Movements in the United States*. New York, 1934.
- Fabricius, Cajus, *Corpus Confessionum*. Berlin, 1928.
- Flew, R. Newton and Davies, Rupert E., *The Catholicity of Protestantism*. London, 1950.
- Florovsky, Georges, *et al.*, *La Sainte Eglise Universelle: confrontation oecuménique*. Neuchâtel and Paris, 1948.
- Hodgson, Leonard, *The Ecumenical Movement: Three Lectures*. . . . Sewanee, 1951.
- Huntington, William Reed, *The Church Idea; An Essay Toward Unity*. Fourth Edition. New York, 1899.
- Marchant, Sir James (Editor), *The Reunion of Christendom*. New York, 1929.
- Martin, Hugh (Editor), *Towards Reunion; What the Churches Stand For*. London, 1937.
- McNeill, John Thomas, *Unitive Protestantism, a Study in Our Religious Resources*. New York, 1930, Richmond, Va. and London, 1964.
- Neill, Stephen Charles, *Christ, His Church and His World*. London, 1948.
- Newbigin, James Edward Lesslie, *The Reunion of the Church; A Defence of the South India Scheme*. London, 1948.
- Nolde, Otto Frederick, *Toward a World-wide Christianity*. New York, 1946.
- Paul, André, *L'unité chrétienne, schismes et rapprochements*. Paris, 1930.
- Rouse, Ruth and Neill, Stephen Charles (Editors), *A History of the Ecumenical Movement, 1517-1948*. Philadelphia, 1954.
- Sasse, Hermann, *Here We Stand: Nature and Character of the Lutheran Faith*, translated . . . by Theodore G. Tappert. New York, 1938.
- Siegmund-Schultze, Friedrich, *Die Einigung der christlichen Kirchen. Sammlung von aussprüchen bedeutender Menchen verschiedener Zeiten*. Basel, 1942.
- Siegmund-Schultze, Friedrich (Editor), *Ekklesia. Eine Sammlung von Selbstdarstellungen der christlichen Kirchen*. Gotha, 1934 — . Projected in ten volumes: incomplete.
- Slosser, Gaius Jackson, *Christian Unity, Its History and Challenge*. New York, 1929.
- Söderblom, Nathan, *Christian Fellowship*. New York, 1923.

- Sperry, Willard Leroyd (Editor), *Religion and Our Divided Denominations*. Cambridge, 1945.
- Spinka, Matthew, *John Amos Comenius, That Incomparable Moravian*. Chicago, 1943.
- Van Dusen, Henry Pitney, *World Christianity, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*. Nashville, 1947.
- Visser 't Hooft, Willem Adolph, *Anglo-Catholicism and Orthodoxy: A Protestant View*. London, 1933.
- Wedel, Theodore Otto, *The Coming Great Church, Essays on Church Unity*. New York, 1945.
- Zander, Leon A., *Vision and Action*. Translated from the Russian by Natalie Doddington. London, 1952.

CHAPTER VI

- Balmes, Jaime Lucio, *Protestantism and Catholicity Compared in Their Effects on the Civilization of Europe*. Written in Spanish and translated from the French. Second Edition. Baltimore, 1851.
- Barry, William, *The Coming Age and the Catholic Church. A Forecast*, New York, 1930.
- The Papacy and Modern Times; a Political Sketch, 1303-1870*. New York, 1911.
- Blanshard, Paul, *American Freedom and Catholic Power*. Boston, 1949.
- Bury, John Bagnell, *History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century (1864-1878)*. London, 1930.
- Butler, Dom Cuthbert, *The Vatican Council*. Two volumes. New York, 1930.
- Cadoux, Cecil John, *Roman Catholicism and Freedom*. Fourth Edition. London, 1947.
- Catechism of the Council of Trent for Parish Priests*. Translated with notes by John A. McHugh and Charles J. Callan. New York, 1923.
- Coulton, George Gordon, *Papal Infallibility*. London, 1932.
- Crow, Paul A., *The Ecumenical Movement in Bibliographical Outline*, New York, 1965.
- Eckhardt, Carl Conrad, *The Papacy and World-Affairs, Reflected in the Secularization of Politics*. Chicago, 1937.
- Fülöp-Miller, René, *Leo XIII and Our Times*. Translated by C. M. R. Bonacina. London, 1937.
- Hase, Karl von, *Handbook to the Controversy with Rome*. Translated from the seventh edition by A. W. Stearne. London, 1906.
- Jaccard, Frédéric, *Saint Cyran, Précurseur de Pascal*. Lausanne, 1945.
- Jalland, Trevor Gervase, *The Church and the Papacy*. London, 1944.

- Kidd, Beresford James, *The Counter-Reformation, 1550-1600*. London, 1933.
- Lattey, Cuthbert (Editor), *The Papacy. Papers from the School of Catholic Studies, August 7-10, 1923*. Cambridge, 1924.
- Leo XIII, Pope, *The Great Encyclical Letters of Pope Leo XIII*. Edited by J. Wynne. Third Edition. New York, 1908.
- Liguori, St. Alphonsus Maria, *An Exposition and Defence of the Points of Faith Discussed and Defined by the Sacred Council of Trent. . . .* Translated from the Italian by a Catholic Clergyman. Dublin, 1846.
- Manhattan, Avro, *The Catholic Church Against the Twentieth Century*. London, 1947.
- Martin, Victor, *Le gallicanisme et la réforme catholique*. Paris, 1919.
- McKnight, John P., *The Papacy: a New Appraisal*. New York, 1952.
- Nielsen, Fredrik Kristian, *The History of the Papacy in the XIXth Century*. Translated under the direction of A. J. Mason. New York, 1906.
- Nippold, Friedrich, *The Church in the Nineteenth Century*. Translated by L. H. Schwab. New York, 1900.
- Schaff, Philip, *Creeds of Christendom*. Three volumes. Fourth Edition. New York, 1919.
- Schmidt, Kurt Dietrich, *Studien zur Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*. Tübingen, 1925.
- Smith, George D., et al., *The Teaching of the Catholic Church*. Two volumes. London, 1948.
- Wallace, Lillian Parker, *The Papacy and European Diplomacy, 1869-1878*. Chapel Hill, 1948.
- Rome and the Study of Scripture: a Collection of Papal Enactments*. Fourth Edition. St. Meinard, Indiana, 1946.

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF MORE RECENT BOOKS

CHAPTER I

- Babbage, Stuart Barton, *Puritanism and Richard Bancroft*. London, 1954.
- Eusden, John Dykstra, *Puritans, Lawyers and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England*. New Haven, 1958.
- Gaer, Joseph and Ben Ziegel, *The Puritan Heritage; America's Roots in the Bible*. New York, 1964.
- Martin, Hugh, *Puritanism and Richard Baxter*. London, 1954.
- Nuttall, Geoffrey, *et al*, *The Beginnings of Nonconformity*. London, 1964.
- Schlatter, Richard, *Richard Baxter and Puritan Politics*. New Brunswick, N.Y., 1957.
- Simpson, Allan, *Puritanism in Old and New England*. Chicago, 1965.
- Solt, Leo F., *Army of Saints; The Religious and Political Ideas of Chaplains in the New Model Army*. New York, 1955.
- Wakefield, Gordon Stevens, *Puritan Devotion; Its Place in the Development of Christian Piety*. London, 1957.
- Walker, Williston, *Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism*, with an Introduction by Douglas Horton. Boston, 1960.

CHAPTER II

- Schmidt, Martin, *Das Zeitalter des Pietismus*. Bremen, 1965.
- Spener, Philip Jacob, *Pia Desideria*. Translated, Edited and with an Introduction by Theodore G. Tappert. Philadelphia, 1964.
- Stoeffler, F. Ernst, *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism*. Leiden, 1965.
- Weber, Otto, and Erich Beyreuther, *Die Stimme der Stillen; ein Buch zur Besinung aus dem Zeugnis von Pietismus*. Neukirchen, 1959.

CHAPTER III

- Brown, Ford K., *Fathers of the Victorians; the Age of Wilberforce*. Cambridge, 1961.
- Douglas, James Dixon, Editor, *Evangelicals and Unity*. Six Essays. Appleford, 1964.
- Fuller, David Otis, *A Treasury of Evangelical Writings*. Introduction by Henry S. Coray. New York, 1961.
- Pollard, Arthur and M. Hennel, Editors, *Charles Simeon, 1759-1836*. Essays written in Commemoration. London, 1959.
- Pollock, John C., *The Keswick Story*. London, 1964.
- Reynolds, John Stewart, *The Evangelicals at Oxford, 1735 to 1871*. London, 1954.

CHAPTER IV

- Brattiscombe, Georgina, *John Keble; a Study in Limitations*. London, 1963.
- Chadwick, Owen, *The Mind of the Oxford Movement*. Stanford, Cal., 1960.

- Fairweather, Eugene R., Editor, *The Oxford Movement*. New York, 1964.
- Haerdelin, Alf, *The Tractarian Understanding of the Eucharist*. Upsala, 1965.
- Tavard, George H., *The Quest for Catholicity. A Study of Anglicanism*. New York, 1964.

CHAPTER V

- Baum, Gregory, O.S.A., Editor, *The Teachings of the Second Vatican Council: Complete Texts of the Constitutions, Decrees and Declarations*. Westminster, Maryland, 1966.
- Bea, Augustin, Cardinal, *Unity in Freedom; Reflections on the Human Family*. New York, 1964.
- Berkouwer, Gerrit Cornelius, *The Second Vatican Council and the New Catholicism*. Tr. Lewis B. Smedes. Grand Rapids, 1965.
- Bury, John Bagnell, *History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century*. Augmented Edition, with Introduction and Epilogue by Frederick C. Grant. New York, 1964.
- Chadwick, Owen, *From Bossuet to Newman*. Cambridge, 1957.
- Horton, Douglas, *Vatican Diary 1962; Vatican Diary 1963*. 2 vols. Philadelphia, 1963, 1964.
- Jedin, Hubert, *Ecumenical Councils of the Catholic Church; an Historical Survey*. Tr. Ernest Graf, O.S.B. New York, 1960.
- Jedin, Hubert, *History of the Council of Trent*, Tr. Ernest Graf, O.S.B., Vols. I, II. Edinburg and St. Louis, 1957, 1961.
- Küng, Hans, *The Council, Reform and Renewal*. Tr. Cecily Hastings. New York, 1961.
- McGregor, Geddes, *The Vatican Revolution*. Boston, 1957. (On Vatican I).
- Orcibal, Jean, *Saint-Cyran et le Jansénisme*. Paris, 1961.
- Rynne, Xavier [pseudonym], *Letters from Vatican City; Vatican Council II, First Session. Background and Debates*. New York, 1963.
- Rynne, Xavier [pseudonym], *The Second Session. The Debates and Decisions of Vatican Council II, September 24-December 4, 1963*. New York, 1964.

CHAPTER VI

- The Anglican-Presbyterian Conversations*. The Report of panels appointed by the Church of Scotland, the Presbyterian Church of England, the Church of England and the Episcopal Church in Scotland. London, 1966.

- Brown, Robert McAfee and David Scott, Editors, *The Challenge to Reunion. The Blake Proposal under Scrutiny*. New York and London, 1963.
- Cavert, Samuel McCrae, *On the Road to Christian Unity*. New York, 1961.
- Hunt, George L., *A Guide to Christian Unity*. St. Louis, 1958.
- Nelson, J. Robert, *Christian Unity in North America*. St. Louis, 1958.
- Piper, Otto, *Protestantism in an Ecumenical Age*. Philadelphia, 1965.
- Reid, John, K.S., *Presbyterians and Unity*. Introduction by the Bishop of Bristol. London, 1962.
- Routley, Erik, *Congregationalism and Unity*. Introduction by the Bishop of Bristol. London, 1962.
- Sartory, Thomas, O.S.B., *The Ecumenical Movement and the Unity of the Church*. Tr. Hilda Graef. Oxford, 1963
- Tavard, George H., *Two Centuries of Ecumenism*. Tr. Royce W. Hughes. Notre Dame, Indiana, 1960.
- Van der Pol, William, *Anglicanism in Ecumenical Perspective* [Duchesne Studies, Theological Series, 4]. Pittsburgh, 1965.

INDEX

- Absolute monarchy, 36 f.
 Absolution, 125
 Adams, Thomas, 18, 33, 43, 46
 Adiaphora, 27, 29. See also Things indifferent.
 Aggiornamento, 153
 A Lasco, John, 25, 132
 Alacoque, Marguerite, 149
 America, 10, 12
 Ames, William, 18, 32
 Amsterdam, assembly at, 150
 Anathemas, 151, 154
 Andreae, Jacob, 167
 Andreae, John Valentine, 50 f.
 Anglican Evangelical Group Movement, 98 f.
 Anglicanism, 19 f., 91 ff., 97, 104, 108, 117, 122, 171-174
 Anglo-Catholicism, Anglo-Catholics, 11 f., 104, 116, 126-129, 173
 Anglo-Saxons, 22, 24
 Annesley, Samuel, 92
 Antislavery movement, 89
 Apostolic succession, 11, 107, 117; and intercommunion, 145
 Aquinas, Thomas, Saint, 147, 149
 Aristotle, 46
 Arminianism, 26, 79 f., 94 f., 147
 Arndt, John, 51 f., 56
 Arnold, Thomas, 110 f.
 Art in churches, 45, 138
 Ascetic communities, 122 ff.
 Assumption of Mary, 143, 150
 Atomic science, 13 f.
 Augsburg, Peace of, 139
 Augustine, Saint, 146 f.
 Bacon, Sir Francis, 9
 Basel, Council of, 155
 Baxter, Richard, 10, 15 f., 19, 30 ff., 34 f., 41 ff., 46 f., 54, 77, 80, 157, 161-184; *The True Catholic*, 163 f.
 Bayly (Baily), Lewis, 53 f., 56
 Bearbaiting, 41, 95
 Becon, Thomas, 33
Beichtpfennig, 65
 Benedict XV, Pope, 139
 Benedictines, Anglican, 124
 Bengel, John Albert, 68 ff.
 Bentham, Jeremy, 109
 Bernard of Clairvaux, Saint, 146 f., 149
 Bérulle, Pierre de, 145
 Blake, Eugene Carson, 174
 Beza, Theodore, 159, 168
 Bible, 39; critical study of, 69 f., 100, 151 f. See also Scripture; Word of God.
 Bill of Rights (1689), 38

- Binns (Elliott-Binns), Leonard Elliott, 99
 Bishops, authority of, 145-148. See also Episcopacy.
 Bogue, David, 99, 169
Book of Common Prayer, The, 20, 25, 27, 76, 96, 118, 125, 128
 Bossuet, Jacques Bénigne, Bishop, 140, 145, 148, 161 f.
 Boston, Thomas, 77, 80
 Bourignon, Antoinette, 148
 Bracton, Henry de, 36
 Bremond, Henri, 145
 Brent, Charles, Bishop, 170
 Briggs, Charles Augustus, 172
 British and Foreign Bible Society, 89
British Magazine, The, 112
 Broad Church, 110 f.
 Brodrick, James, S.J., 159
 Brown, Robert, 18, 29
 Bucer, Martin, 25, 27, 53, 55, 159
 Bullinger, Heinrich, 26, 28, 31
 Bunyan, John, 31, 43, 60, 72, 77, 100
 Burke, Edmund, 104
 Burleigh, William Cecil, Lord, 38
 Burnet, Gilbert, Bishop, 86
 Butler, Samuel, "Hudibras," 44

 Calixtus, George, 50, 165 ff.
 Calling, doctrine of, 40
 Calvin, John, 12, 26 f., 77, 95; advises Puritans, 27; on kings, 35
 Calvinism, Calvinists, 10, 29, 39, 55, 77, 79, 87, 91, 94 f., 147
 "Cambuslang Wark," 83 f.
 Canisius, Peter, 137, 144
 Canstein, Karl Hildebrand, Baron von, 50, 63
 Caraffa, Giovanni Pietro (Pope Paul IV), 133, 136, 139
 Carey, William, 99, 168
 Cartwright, Thomas, 18, 29

 Casuistry, 41 f., 144, 146
 Catholic Emancipation, 108
 Celibacy, clerical, 124
 Chalmers, Thomas, 93, 96 f., 110
 Chambon, Joseph, 33, 42
 Charles I, 37
 Charles V, Emperor, 130, 132
 Chaucer, Geoffrey, 107
 Church, nature of, 11 f.; doctrine of, 160; dismemberment of, 161, 176; world consciousness of, 168; unity and division in, 157 ff.; prospect of, 176
 Church and State, 16, 37, 42, 96, 129
 Church Fathers, 69, 114-116
 Church of England, 20, 104, 107, 171; autonomy of, 129; secular view of, 105; wealth of, 110
 Church polity, 18
 Church unity, early modern advocates of, 159-168. See also Ecumenical movement.
 Cistercians, 21
 "Clapham Sect," 88 f.
 Cocceius, John, 32
Collegia pietatis, 56, 79
Collegium Philobiblicum, 58 f.
 Collier, Jeremy, 46
 Commandments, the Ten, 166
 Conciliarists, 160
 Concordats, papal, 164 f.
 Confession, auricular, 123, 125
 Conscience, 16 ff., 18, 48; pangs of, 31, 50; God and, 131
 Constance, Council of, 132, 134, 160 f.
 Consultation on Church Union, 174
 Conversion, 30 f., 56, 64, 80, 100
 Convocation of Canterbury, discontinued (1718), 104 f.; restored (1854), 129; petition to, 125
 Cook, Captain James, 168
 Costumes of Puritans, 45

Coulton, George Gordon, 21 f.
 Councils, authority of, 132, 144, 150
 Covenant Theology, 31 f.
 Cowper, William, 85, 101
 Crabbe, George, 106 f.
 Cranmer, Thomas, Archbishop, 23,
 25 f., 27, 125, 128
 Cromwell, Oliver, 37 ff., 45, 77
 Crouch, Joseph, 44
 Curates, 105 ff.

Dancing, 46 f., 50
 Dark, Sidney, 44
 Darwinianism, 97, 100
 Deaconesses, 124
 Declaration of the Clergy of France,
 140
 Deism and Deists, 75
 De Maistre, Joseph Marie, Comte, 141
 Denominations, and ecumenism,
 175 f.
 Disruption, Scottish (1843), 91, 96,
 129
 Dissent, 23 f.
 Dissenters, 106 f., 108, 118
 Doddridge, Philip, 34, 76, 78 f.; on
 frugality, 101
 Dogmas, new, 12, 142 f., 150
 Drummond, Henry, 98
 Duff, Alexander, 99, 141 f.
 Dury, John, 50, 162 ff.

Ecclesia semper reformanda, 155, 175
Ecclesiola, 51
 Eckhart, Meister, 42
 Economic duties, 34 f., 39-43
 Economy, principle of, 20, 47 f.
 Ecumenical literature, 177
 Ecumenical movement, 157-179; early
 advocates of its aims, 162-166;

name of, 141; and laymen, 150 f.;
 ecumenical revival, 176-178
 Edinburgh, World Missionary Con-
 ference in, 169 f.
 Edward VI, 28
 Edwards, Jonathan, 43, 82 f.
 Election, doctrine of, 78 f.
 Eliot, John, 11
 Elizabeth I, 26, 36, 39
 Enlightened despots, 104
 Episcopacy, episcopate, doctrine of,
 172-177. See also Bishops.
 Erastianism, 104, 107, 129
 Erskine, Ebenezer, 78 f., 83, 96
 Erskine, John, 89
 Erskine, Ralph, 78 f., 83 f., 96
 Eucharist, doctrine of, 124 f.
Eutaxia, 46
 Evangelical Alliance, 99, 170 f.
 Evangelical movement, 75-103, 105,
 107 f., 141; ecumenical spirit of,
 99
 Evangelicalism, Evangelicals, 10, 13,
 30, 76 ff., 107, 114; debt to Puritan-
 ism, 77, 80 f.; and Pietism, 81;
 Scottish, 77-81, 83, 90, 96 ff.; Welsh,
 82 f., 89; American, 81 f.; character
 and evaluation of, 99-102
Extraordinary Black Book, The, 109

Fairchild, Hoxie Neale, 100
 Febronianism, 140 f.
 Fénelon, François de la Mothe, 13,
 145, 148
 Ferrar, Nicholas, 122
 Fessler, Joseph, Bishop, 143
 Five Dissenting Brethren, 18
 Fletcher, John Williams, 83
 Fliedner, Theodor, 124
 Forbes, John, 165
 Formula of Concord, 167
 Foxe, John, 158

- France, Kings of, 131, 133, 140; civil war in, 138
- Francis de Sales, Saint, 145
- Francis of Assisi, Saint, 146
- Francke, August Hermann, 58-68, 85; conversion of, 59 f.; and service to community, 63 f.; and foreign missions, 64 f.; and education, 64; his *Pietas Hallensis*, 60-63; colleagues of, 64 ff., 68, 72
- Francke, Gotthilf August, 66
- Frankfort, Spener's reforms in, 55 f.
- Fraternal correction, 92
- Frederick the Great, 10
- Frelinghuysen, Theodorus Jacobus, 81 ff.
- Froude, Richard Hurrell, 112-115, 127; Newman's description of, 113, 119
- Fuller, Thomas, 17
- Fundamentalism, 98
- Gallican Church, 104
- Gallicanism, 139-141
- Garrett, Christina, 28
- Gaume, Jean Joseph, 125
- General Council, 159 ff.
- Geneva, 28, 51; laws of, 27
- Geneva Bible, 35
- Gerhard, Paul, 52
- Gilby, John, 20
- Gladstone, William Ewart, 123
- God, concepts of, 30-33; sovereignty of, 35
- Gore, Charles, 124
- Gosson, Stephen, 46
- Gouge, Thomas, 35, 47
- Great Revolution (1688-1689), 38
- Greenham, Richard, 30
- Gregory XVI, Pope, 142
- Group meetings, 56 f.
- Guise, Charles de, Cardinal, 135
- Guyon, Madame Jeanne Marie, 147 f.
- Haldane, James Alexander, 90, 96
- Haldane, Robert, 90, 96
- Hall, Thomas Cuming, 23 f.
- Halle, Pietism in, 11, 60-68, 141, 160; institutions in, 60 ff.
- Harris, Howel, 82 f., 84, 89
- Hell-fire clubs, 100
- Henry VIII, 28
- Henry, Matthew, 32, 34
- Henson, Herbert Hensley, 23, 43
- Hermann, Nicholas (Brother Lawrence), 148 f.
- High-Church Anglicanism, High-churchmen, 44, 80, 108, 111, 145
- High-Church divines, seventeenth century, 116
- Historic episcopate, 144 f.
- Hobbes, Thomas, 51, 75
- Holiness, Scriptural, 33, 92
- Homilies, Book of*, Anglican, 86, 125
- Hooker, Richard, 23, 77, 86, 128
- Hooper, John, 23, 25, 29
- Horneck, Anthony, 76
- Howe, John, 32
- Huguenots, 28, 114
- Hume, David, 85
- Humphrey, Lawrence, 16
- Huntingdon, Selina, Countess of, 89
- Huntington, William Reed, 171
- Hutchinson, John, 45, 47
- Hypocrisy, 43 f.
- Iconoclastic Movement, 21
- Immaculate Conception, 149
- Independents, 18 f.
- Indulgences, 136
- Infallibility, papal, 126, 142
- Innocent X, Pope, 139
- Innocent XI, Pope, 140, 148
- Inquisition, Roman, 133

- Ireland, Established Church of, 109;
 Temporalities Act for, 112, 115
 Irreligion, 75, 100
 Jalland, Trevor, 173 f.
 James I, 36 f., 40
 James II, 38
 Jansen, Cornelius, 146 f.
 Jansenism, Jansenists, 12, 146 f.
 Jebb, John, 108 f.
 Jedin, Hubert, 133
 Jesuit colleges, 144
 Jesuit Order, Jesuits, 132, 135, 141,
 144, 146, 149
 Jewel, John, 159
 John XXIII, Pope, 150 f., 153 f., 156
 Johnson, Samuel, 103, 105
 Joseph II, Emperor, 141
 Joy in God, 32, 41
 Jüngst-Stetin, Johann, 70 f.
 Keble, John, 12, 108, 111 f., 114 ff.,
 121, 125 f., 128 f.
 Knappen, Marshall Mason, 29 f.
 Knox, Alexander, 108
 Knox, John, 18, 28
 Krüdener, Juliane, Baroness von, 73
 Labadie, Jean de, 51
 Lacey, Thomas Alexander, 119
 Lambeth conferences, 171-174
 Lamennais, Hugues Félicité Robert
 de, 109
 Lang, August, 25, 52 f., 71
 Laud, William, Archbishop, 44 f., 53,
 79, 128; apostolate, 154, 174
 Law, William, 46, 86, 91, 122
 Laynez, Diego, 135
 Lechler, Gotthard Victor, 24
 Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm von, 138
 Leo XIII, Pope, 12, 142, 152; encycli-
 cals of, 151 f.
 Levellers, 18, 39
 Liberal Catholics, 142
Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology,
 116
 Liguori, Alphonso Maria de, 149
 Limited monarchy, 37 f.
 Lollardism, 23 f.
 Löscher, Ernst, 64
 Louis XIV, 164
 Loyola, Saint Ignatius de, 132, 135,
 144
 Luther, Martin, 24 f., 51, 56, 100, 159,
 161
 Lutheran Church, 104, 165 f.
 Lutheran-Reformed issue, 165 ff.
 Lutheran scholasticism, 50, 77
 Lutheranism, Lutherans, 51, 55, 60,
 166 f.
 Macaulay, Thomas Babington, 41
 Macaulay, Zachary, 89
 McCulloch, William, 83 f.
 Magna Charta, 104
 Manning, Henry Edward, Cardinal,
 126
 Marholz, Werner, 70
 Marian exiles, 26, 27, 28
Marrow of Modern Divinity, The,
 77 f.
 Martha and Mary, 42
 Martyn, Henry, 96, 141
 Martyr, Peter (Pietro Martire Ver-
 migli), 16
 Martyrs' Monument, 127
 Mary I, Queen of England, 28
 Mather, Cotton, 19, 74
 Mazzini, Guiseppe, 30
 Mede, Joseph, 124
 Medieval Church, 113, 134, 159
 Medieval mystics, 34
 Melancthon, Philip, 27, 29, 119
 Meldenius, Rupert (pseudonym), 165,
 170

- Mercersburg theology, 12
 Methodism, Methodists, 10, 86 f., 88, 92, 94, 176; satires on, 100
 Milton, John, 9, 14, 43, 100
 Ministers, training of, 57 f.
 Ministries, recognition of, 175
 Ministry, in Early Church, 146 f.; doctrines of, 173 f.
 Missionaries, evangelical, 99
 Missionary societies, 99, 169
 Missions, foreign, 64 f., 99 f.; comity of, 169
 Moderates, Scottish, 80, 91
 Modernism, 152
 Molinier, Etienne, 145
 Molinos, Miguel, 148
 Montesquieu, Charles Louis, Baron de, 75
 Moody, Dwight Lyman, 61, 97 f., 99
 Moravian Church, 66 ff.
 More, Hannah, 89 f., 105
 Mott, John Raleigh, 99
 Movements, parentage of, 13
 Muhlenberg, Henry Melchior, 64
 Music, 46 f., 101
 Mussolini, Benito, 141
 Mutual edification, 55, 57, 92

 Napoleon, 141
 "National Apostasy," 112
 Neale, John Mason, 123 f., 126, 128
 Nevin, John Williamson, 12
 New birth, 52, 73, 86
 New Delhi Conference, 177
 Newman, John Henry, Cardinal, 88, 108, 112-120; his *Apologia*, 113, 116; view of Protestant sects, 117; conversion, 121 f., 125 ff., 171; "*Credo in Newmanum*," 120
 Newton, Sir Isaac, 9
 Newton, John, 85 f., 88 f.
 Nonconformity, 76
 Nonresidence, 105
 Normans, 22, 24, 38
 "*Oikoumene*" and "ecumenical," 167 f.
 Old Catholic Church, 146
 Ordination, presbyterial, 172
 Ornaments rubric, 128
 Orthodox Eastern Churches, 126, 159
 Owen, John, 32 f.
 Oxford Movement, 11 f., 96, 111-125, 128, 171
 Pallavicini, Pietro Sforza, 133
 Palmer, William, 126
 Papacy, 38, 117, 128; supremacy of, 137 ff.; policies of, 138-142
 Papal infallibility, 142 f.
 Pareus, David, 162
 Parker, Matthew, Archbishop, 16, 26, 29, 38
 Parkhurst, John, Bishop, 26
 Parliament, English, Puritan bills in, 35 f.; liberties of, 36 ff., 45
 Pascal, Blaise, 13, 78, 146 f.
 Patronage, ecclesiastical, 105
 Paul III, Pope, 132
 Paul IV, Pope. See Caraffa.
 Pecoek, Reginald, 23
 Penance, 125, 135
 Pennsylvania, sects of, 67
 Perkins, William, 17, 18, 25, 31, 39 f., 47, 52 f., 70
 Perry, William Stevens, Bishop, 172
 Persecution, 158
 Petition of Right, 37
 Philip II of Spain, 29
 Pictet, Benedict, 165
 Pietism, Pietists, Dutch, 52
 Pietism, Pietists, German, 10, 13, 30, 49-74; types of experience in, 70 f.; interpretations of, 71 ff.; and education, 64, 72; ecumenical spirit of,

- 73; influence of, 73
- Piety, 49
- Pinson, Koppel Shub, 71, 73
- Pius II, Pope, 133
- Pius IV, Pope, 135
- Pius VII, Pope, 139, 141
- Pius IX, Pope, 141 ff., 149
- Pius XII, Pope, 130
- Plato, 46
- Pontifical Biblical Commission, 151 f.
- Port Royalists, 146 f.
- Preaching, 55, 57, 120
- Predestination, 17, 79, 87, 94
- Presbyterian conception of govern-
ment, 38; of the ministry, 172 f.
- Presbyterian party, 36 ff.
- Presbyterians, 18 f., 117
- Preston, John, 45 f.
- Pride's Purge, 37 f.
- Priesthood, spiritual, 57 f.
- Prophecyings, 26
- Protestantism, Protestants, 10 ff., 29,
81, 154 f., 158, 161, 174
- Prynne, William, 18, 44, 46
- Puritanism, Puritans, 9 ff., 13, 15-48,
52 ff.; nature of, 15 ff.; varieties of,
18 f.; principle of economy in, 20;
sources of, 21 f.; and Continental
Protestantism, 24 f.; ideas and the-
ology of, 29 ff., 39 f.; economic
teachings of, 34 f.; and music,
drama, and the dance, 46 f.; com-
pared with Pietism, 72 f.
- Pusey, Edward Bouverie, 12, 116,
121 f., 124 ff., 171; *Eirenicon* of,
126; on the Reformation, 128
- Quadrilateral, Anglican, 171 f.
- Quakers, 18
- Quietism, 147 ff.
- Ranchin, Guillaume, 133
- Recreation, 40 f., 95
- Redemptorists, 149
- Reform Bill (1832), 112, 115
- Reformation, the, 9, 11 f., 14, 23, 26,
30, 50, 54, 113, 128, 130, 133, 138,
154
- Reformed Church, 24, 26, 104, 176
- Restoration (1660), 104
- Revivals, evangelical, 10, 81, 83 f., 97 f.
- Richter, Christian Friedrich, 63
- Ritschl, Albrecht, 71
- Ritualism, 128 f.
- Robinson, John, 18
- Rogers, Richard, 17
- Roman Catholic Church, 130-156;
strength of, 130 f.; critics of, 133;
and nationalism, 139 ff.; dogmas
declared by, 142 ff.; secessions to,
123, 171; Biblical scholarship in,
151 f.
- Rose, Hugh James, 112, 115, 121
- Rowlands, Daniel, 82 f.
- Sacraments, 24
- St. Cyran, the Abbé de, 146 f.
- Sampson, Thomas, 16 f., 27
- Sarpi, Paolo, 133
- Schenk, William, 39
- Schleiermacher, Friedrich Daniel
Ernst, 73
- Scholes, Percy Alfred, 46
- Scott, Thomas, 85 f., 87 f.
- Scottish Presbyterians, 117
- Scougal, Henry, 84, 91, 93
- Scripture, authority of, 16 f., 19 f., 23,
25, 99, 113, 154. See also Bible.
- Sectarianism, 130 f.
- Sects, Puritan, 18 f.
- Secular employments, 34
- Self-examination, 21
- Sellon, Priscilla Lydia, 123
- Semler, John Salomon, 70

- Separatists, 19
 Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of, 97
 Shakespeare, William, 9, 15, 17, 43, 46
 Shorter Catechism, quoted, 32
 Simeon, Charles, 95 f.
 Simson, John, 80
 Sisterhoods, ascetic, 122 ff.
 Smectymnuans, 18
 Smith, George Adam, 97 f.
 Smith, Sydney, 88, 100
 Smyth, John, 18
 Söderblom, Nathan, 143
 Sonthom, Emanuel, 53
 South India United Church, 173
 Southey, Robert, 122
 Spangenberg, August Gottlieb, 65 f., 68
 Spener, Philipp Jakob, 50-60, 68, 72, 77; on Luther, 54 f.; on spiritual priesthood, 57 f.; proposals of, in *Pia desideria*, 56 f.; on nature, 58; on the confessional, 64 f.; opponents of, 58 f.; "heart religion" of, 72
 Spinoza, Baruch, 9
 Stoics, 21
 Stoll, Joachim, 50, 55
 Strasbourg, 51, 55
 Strype, John, 23, 38
 Stuart, George H., 142
 Stubbes, Philip, 41, 46
 Student Christian movements, 99
 Sunday, 40
 Syllabus of Errors, 142, 151
 Temple, William, Archbishop, 170
 Tennent, Gilbert, 82
 Theater, 46 f.
 Things indifferent, 16, 17, 27, 36 f.
 Thirty-nine Articles, 86, 96, 118 f., 120
 Thirty Years' War, 10, 50, 52, 138
 Thornton, Henry, 89
 Thornton, John, 85, 88 f.
 Time, economy of, 20, 32, 42
 Tract, 90, 118 ff., 126
 Tractarianism, Tractarians, 97, 100, 107-129; forerunners of, 108, 111; views of the Church, Biblical criticism, the Reformation, 127 f.; evaluation of, 126-129
Tracts for the Times, 115-119
 Tradition, 113, 134 f.
 Trent, Council of, 119, 132, 134-138, 152; Catechism of, 137 f.; Profession of Faith of, 136
 Trevecca, 83
 Troeltsch, Ernst, 72
 Tyndale, William, 23
 Ultramontaniam, 141 f.
 United Church of Canada, 177
 United Nations, 151
 Vatican Council, second, 152, 173, 177
 Vatican Council, First, 172-175
 Venn, Henry, 86-89
 Vestment controversy, 25, 44
Via media, 116, 120, 126
 Vincent de Paul, Saint, 124, 145
 Vinet, Alexandre, 149
 Virgin Mary, 138, 155; Immaculate Conception of, 149 f.; Assumption of, 143, 150; cult of, 149 f., 155
 Wade, John, 109 f.
 Wake, William, Archbishop, 165
 Ward, John, 17
 Ward, William George, 118, 120, 125
 Watts, Isaac, 76
 Wealth, and God's favor, 41

- Weber, Max, 39
 Webster, Alexander, 79
 Welsh Methodists, 82, 89
 Wentworth, Peter, 36
 Wesley, Charles, 84
 Wesley, John, 33, 80, 83 ff., 91-95, 108, 148; conversion of, 92; and the poor, 93 f.; teaching on property, 94, 101; Arminianism of, 94 f.; on recreation, 95, 101 ff.
 Westminster Confession, 160
 Westphalia, Peace of, 12, 50, 139
 Whately, Richard, 111 f.
 Whitefield, George, 83 f., 85, 89
 Whitgift, John, Archbishop, 29
 Whittingham, William, 27
 Wilberforce, Isaac, 124
 Wilberforce, William, 89 f., 97, 124
 Williams, Isaac, 115
 Williams, Roger, 19
 Wiseman, Nicholas Patrick, Cardinal, 119 f., 126
 Word of God, 16, 20. See also "Bible"; "Scripture."
 World Council of Churches, 161, 177
 World Missionary conferences, 169 f.
 Worship, 11, 16, 18, 48; ceremonial in, 16, 25, 123, 128
 Wright, Louis Booker, 17
 Wyclif, John, 23 f., 93
 Ziegenbalg, Bartholomew, 11
 Zinzendorf, Nicholas Ludwig, Count von, 65 ff.; and the Halle Pietists, 66; extravagant teachings of, 66, 68 f.; and Christian reunion, 66 f., 70
 Zwingli, Huldreich, 26 f.

harper TORCHBOOKS

HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

American Studies: General

- LOUIS D. BRANDEIS: *Other People's Money, and How the Bankers Use It* ‡ TB/3081
- HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, Ed.: *The Struggle for Racial Equality* TB/1300
- CARL N. DEGLER, Ed.: *Pivotal Interpretations of American History* Vol. I TB/1240; Vol. II TB/1241
- A. S. EISENSTADT, Ed.: *The Craft of American History: Recent Essays in American Historical Writing* Vol. I TB/1255; Vol. II TB/1256
- CHARLOTTE P. GILMAN: *Women and Economics*. ‡ Ed. by Carl N. Degler with an Introduction TB/3073
- MARCUS LEE HANSEN: *The Atlantic Migration: 1607-1860*. TB/1052
- JOHN HIGHAM, Ed.: *The Reconstruction of American History* Δ TB/1068
- ROBERT H. JACKSON: *The Supreme Court in the American System of Government* TB/1106
- LEONARD W. LEVY, Ed.: *American Constitutional Law* TB/1285
- LEONARD W. LEVY, Ed.: *Judicial Review and the Supreme Court* TB/1296
- LEONARD W. LEVY: *The Law of the Commonwealth and Chief Justice Shaw* TB/1309
- HENRY F. MAY: *Protestant Churches and Industrial America* TB/1334
- RICHARD B. MORRIS: *Fair Trial: Fourteen Who Stood Accused, from Anne Hutchinson to Alger Hiss*. Preface by the Author TB/1335
- RALPH BARTON PERRY: *Puritanism and Democracy* TB/1138

American Studies: Colonial

- BERNARD BAILYN: *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century* TB/1149
- JOSEPH CHARLES: *The Origins of the American Party System* TB/1049
- HENRY STEELE COMMAGER & ELMO GIORDANETTI, Eds.: *Was America a Mistake? An Eighteenth Century Controversy* TB/1329
- CHARLES GIBSON: *Spain in America* † TB/3077
- LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON: *The Coming of the Revolution: 1763-1775*. † *Illus.* TB/3007
- PERRY MILLER & T. H. JOHNSON, Eds.: *The Puritans: A Sourcebook* Vol. I TB/1093; Vol. II TB/1094
- EDMUND S. MORGAN, Ed.: *The Diary of Michael Wigglesworth, 1653-1657* TB/1228
- EDMUND S. MORGAN: *The Puritan Family* TB/1227
- RICHARD B. MORRIS: *Government and Labor in Early America* TB/1244
- WALLACE NOTESTEIN: *The English People on the Eve of Colonization: 1603-1630*. † *Illus.* TB/3006
- JOHN P. ROCHE: *Origins of American Political Thought: Selected Readings* TB/1301

- JOHN SMITH: *Captain John Smith's America: Selections from His Writings* TB/3078

American Studies: From the Revolution to 1860

- MAX BELOFF: *The Debate on the American Revolution: 1761-1783* TB/1225
- RAY A. BILLINGTON: *The Far Western Frontier: 1830-1860*. † *Illus.* TB/3012
- GEORGE DANGERFIELD: *The Awakening of American Nationalism: 1815-1828*. † *Illus.* TB/3061
- WILLIAM W. FREEHLING, Ed.: *The Nullification Era: A Documentary Record* ‡ TB/3079
- JOHN C. MILLER: *Alexander Hamilton and the Growth of the New Nation* TB/3057
- RICHARD B. MORRIS, Ed.: *The Era of the American Revolution* TB/1180
- R. B. NYE: *The Cultural Life of the New Nation: 1776-1801*. † *Illus.* TB/3026
- A. F. TYLER: *Freedom's Ferment* TB/1074
- LOUIS B. WRIGHT: *Culture on the Moving Frontier* TB/1053

American Studies: Since the Civil War

- MAX BELOFF, Ed.: *The Debate on the American Revolution, 1761-1783: A Sourcebook* TB/1225
- W. R. BROCK: *An American Crisis: Congress and Reconstruction, 1865-67* ° Δ TB/1283
- A. RUSSELL BUCHANAN: *The United States and World War II*. † *Illus.* Vol. I TB/3044; Vol. II TB/3045
- EDMUND BURKE: *On the American Revolution*. † Edited by Elliot Robert Barkan TB/3068
- THOMAS C. COCHRAN & WILLIAM MILLER: *The Age of Enterprise: A Social History of Industrial America* TB/1054
- WHITNEY R. CROSS: *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* TB/1242
- FOSTER RHEA DULLES: *America's Rise to World Power: 1898-1954*. † *Illus.* TB/3021
- W. A. DUNNING: *Reconstruction, Political and Economic: 1865-1877* TB/1073
- HAROLD U. FAULKNER: *Politics, Reform and Expansion: 1890-1900*. † *Illus.* TB/3020
- FRANCIS GRIERSON: *The Valley of Shadows* TB/1246
- SIDNEY HOOK: *Reason, Social Myths, and Democracy* TB/1237
- WILLIAM E. LEUCHTENBURG: *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal: 1932-1940*. † *Illus.* TB/3025
- JAMES MADISON: *The Forging of American Federalism*. Edited by Saul K. Padover TB/1226
- ARTHUR MANN: *Yankee Reformers in the Urban Age* TB/1247
- GEORGE E. MOWRY: *The Era of Theodore Roosevelt and the Birth of Modern America: 1900-1912* † TB/3022
- R. B. NYE: *Midwestern Progressive Politics* TB/1202
- JAMES PARTON: *The Presidency of Andrew Jackson, From Vol. III of the Life of Andrew Jackson* ‡ TB/3080

† The New American Nation Series, edited by Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris.

‡ American Perspectives series, edited by Bernard Wishy and William E. Leuchtenburg.

* The Rise of Modern Europe series, edited by William L. Langer.

** History of Europe series, edited by J. H. Plumb.

†† Researches in the Social, Cultural and Behavioral Sciences, edited by Benjamin Nelson.

§ The Library of Religion and Culture, edited by Benjamin Nelson.

Σ Harper Modern Science Series, edited by James R. Newman.

° Not for sale in Canada.

Δ Not for sale in the U. K.

FRANCIS S. PHILBRICK: *The Rise of the West, 1754-1830.* †
Illus. TB/3067
 WILLIAM PRESTON, JR.: *Aliens and Dissenters: Federal
 Suppression of Radicals, 1903-1933* TB/1287
 JACOB RIIS: *The Making of an American* ‡ TB/3070
 PHILIP SELZNICK: *TVA and the Grass Roots* TB/1230
 TIMOTHY L. SMITH: *Revivalism and Social Reform: Amer-
 ican Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War* †
 TB/1229
 IDA M. TARBELL: *The History of the Standard Oil Com-
 pany. Briefer Version.* ‡ Edited by David M. Chalmers
 TB/3071
 ALBION W. TOURGÉE: *A Fool's Errand.* ‡ Ed. by George
 Fredrickson TB/3074
 GEORGE B. TINDALL, Ed.: *A Populist Reader* ‡ TB/3069
 VERNON LANE WHARTON: *The Negro in Mississippi: 1865-
 1890* TB/1178

Anthropology

JACQUES BARZUN: *Race: A Study in Superstition. Re-
 vised Edition* TB/1172
 JOSEPH B. CASAGRANDE, Ed.: *In the Company of Man: Portraits of Anthropological Informants* TB/3047
 W. E. LE GROS CLARK: *The Antecedents of Man: Intro. to Evolution of the Primates.* † *Illus.* TB/559
 CORA DU BOIS: *The People of Alor. New Preface by the author. Illus.* Vol. I TB/1042; Vol. II TB/1043
 DAVID LANDY: *Tropical Childhood: Cultural Transmission and Learning in a Puerto Rican Village* † TB/1235
 EDWARD BURNETT TYLOR: *Religion in Primitive Culture. Part II of "Primitive Culture."* ‡ Intro. by Paul Radin TB/34
 W. LLOYD WARNER: *A Black Civilization: A Study of an Australian Tribe.* † *Illus.* TB/3056

Art and Art History

EMILE MÂLE: *The Gothic Image.* § † 190 *illus.* TB/44
 MILLARD MEISS: *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death.* 169 *illus.* TB/1148
 ERICH NEUMANN: *The Archetypal World of Henry Moore.* † 107 *illus.* TB/2020
 DORA & ERWIN PANOFSKY: *Pandora's Box: The Changing Aspects of a Mythical Symbol* TB/2021
 ERWIN PANOFSKY: *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* † TB/1077
 ALEXANDRE PIANKOFF: *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon. Edited by N. Rambova.* 117 *illus.* TB/2011
 OTTO VON SIMSON: *The Gothic Cathedral* † TB/2018
 HEINRICH ZIMMER: *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization.* 70 *illustrations* TB/2005

Business, Economics & Economic History

REINHARD BENDIX: *Work and Authority in Industry* TB/3035
 GILBERT BURCK & EDITORS OF FORTUNE: *The Computer Age: And Its Potential for Management* TB/1179
 THOMAS C. COCHRAN: *The American Business System: A Historical Perspective, 1900-1955* TB/1080
 ROBERT DAHL & CHARLES E. LINDBLOM: *Politics, Economics, and Welfare* TB/3037
 PETER F. DRUCKER: *The New Society* † TB/1082
 ROBERT L. HEILBRONER: *The Limits of American Capitalism* TB/1305
 FRANK H. KNIGHT: *The Economic Organization* TB/1214
 FRANK H. KNIGHT: *Risk, Uncertainty and Profit* TB/1215
 ABBA P. LERNER: *Everybody's Business* TB/3051
 HERBERT SIMON: *The Shape of Automation: For Men and Management* TB/1245

Education

JACQUES BARZUN: *The House of Intellect* † TB/1051
 RICHARD M. JONES, Ed.: *Contemporary Educational Psychology: Selected Readings* TB/1292
 CLARK KERR: *The Uses of the University* TB/1264

JOHN U. NEF: *Cultural Foundations of Industrial Civilization* † TB/1024

Historiography & Philosophy of History

JACOB BURCKHARDT: *On History and Historians.* † Intro. by H. R. Trevor-Roper TB/1216
 J. H. HEXTER: *Reappraisals in History: New Views on History & Society in Early Modern Europe* TB/1100
 H. STUART HUGHES: *History as Art and as Science: Twin Vistas on the Past* TB/1207
 ARNALDO MOMIGLIANO: *Studies in Historiography* † TB/1288
 GEORGE H. NADEL, Ed.: *Studies in the Philosophy of History: Essays from History and Theory* TB/1208
 KARL R. POPPER: *The Open Society and Its Enemies* † Vol. I TB/1101; Vol. II TB/1102
 KARL R. POPPER: *The Poverty of Historicism* † TB/1126
 G. J. RENIER: *History: Its Purpose and Method* † TB/1209
 W. H. WALSH: *Philosophy of History* † TB/1020

History: General

WOLFGANG FRANKE: *China and the West* TB/1326
 L. CARRINGTON GOODRICH: *A Short History of the Chinese People.* † *Illus.* TB/3015
 DAN N. JACOBS & HANS H. BAERWALD: *Chinese Communism: Selected Documents* TB/3031
 BERNARD LEWIS: *The Arabs in History* † TB/1029
 BERNARD LEWIS: *The Middle East and the West* † TB/1274

History: Ancient and Medieval

A. ANDREWES: *The Greek Tyrants* † TB/1103
 P. BOISSONNADE: *Life and Work in Medieval Europe* † TB/1141
 HELEN CAM: *England before Elizabeth* † TB/1026
 NORMAN COHN: *The Pursuit of the Millennium* † TB/1037
 CHRISTOPHER DAWSON, Ed.: *Mission to Asia* † TB/315
 ADOLF ERMAN, Ed.: *The Ancient Egyptians* TB/1233
 HEINRICH FICHTENAU: *The Carolingian Empire: The Age of Charlemagne* † TB/1142
 GALBERT OF BRUGES: *The Murder of Charles the Good. Trans. with Intro. by James Bruce Ross* TB/1311
 F. L. GANSHOF: *Feudalism* † TB/1058
 DENO GEANAKOPOLOS: *Byzantine East and Latin West* † TB/1265
 MICHAEL GRANT: *Ancient History* † TB/1190
 W. O. HASSALL, Ed.: *Medieval England: As Viewed by Contemporaries* † TB/1205
 DENYS HAY: *Europe: The Emergence of an Idea* TB/1275
 DENYS HAY: *The Medieval Centuries* † TB/1192
 J. M. HUSSEY: *The Byzantine World* † TB/1057
 SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER: *Sumerian Mythology* TB/1055
 ROBERT LATOUCHE: *The Birth of Western Economy: Economic Aspects of the Dark Ages* † TB/1290
 NAPHTALI LEWIS & MEYER REINHOLD, Eds.: *Roman Civilization* Vol. I TB/1231; Vol. II TB/1232
 FERDINAND LOT: *The End of the Ancient World and the Beginnings of the Middle Ages* TB/1044
 ACHILLE LUCHAIRE: *Social France at the Time of Philip Augustus* TB/1314
 MARSILIUS OF PADUA: *The Defender of the Peace. Trans. with Intro. by Alan Gewirth* TB/1310
 G. MOLLAT: *The Popes at Avignon: 1305-1378* † TB/308
 CHARLES PETIT-DUTAILLIS: *The Feudal Monarchy in France and England* † TB/1165
 HENRI PIRENNE: *Early Democracies in the Low Countries* TB/1110
 STEVEN RUNCIMAN: *A History of the Crusades* † Vol. I TB/1143; Vol. II TB/1243; Vol. III TB/1298
 J. M. WALLACE-HADRILL: *The Barbarian West* † TB/1061

History: Renaissance & Reformation

JACOB BURCKHARDT: *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* † Vol. I TB/40; Vol. II TB/41

JOHN CALVIN & JACOPO SADOLETO: A Reformation Debate.
Edited by John C. Olin TB/1239
 G. CONSTANT: The Reformation in England ^Δ TB/314
 G. R. ELTON: Reformation Europe, 1517-1559 ** ^{o Δ}
 WALLACE K. FERGUSON et al.: The Renaissance: Six Es-
 says. *Illus.* TB/1084
 JOHN NEVILLE FIGGIS: Divine Right of Kings TB/1191
 FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI: Maxims and Reflections of a
 Renaissance Statesman (*Ricordi*) TB/1160
 J. H. HEXTER: More's Utopia TB/1195
 HAJO HOLBORN: Ulrich von Hutten and the German Ref-
 ormation TB/1233
 JOHAN HUIZINGA: Erasmus and the Age of Reformation.^Δ
Illus. TB/19
 JOEL HURSTFIELD: The Elizabethan Nation ^Δ TB/1312
 JOEL HURSTFIELD, Ed.: The Reformation Crisis ^Δ TB/1267
 ULRICH VON HUTTEN et al.: On the Eve of the Reforma-
 tion: "Letters of Obscure Men" TB/1124
 ROBERT LATOUCHE: The Birth of Western Economy. ^{o Δ}
Trans. by Philip Grierson TB/1290
 NICCOLÒ MACHIAVELLI: History of Florence and of the
 Affairs of Italy TB/1027
 GARRETT MATTINGLY et al.: Renaissance Profiles. ^Δ *Edited*
by J. H. Plumb TB/1162
 J. E. NEALE: The Age of Catherine de Medici ^{o Δ} TB/1085
 ERWIN PANOFSKY: Studies in Iconology ^Δ TB/1077
 J. H. PARRY: The Establishment of the European He-
 gemony: 1415-1715 ^Δ TB/1045
 BUONACCORSO PITTI & GREGORIO DATI: Two Memoirs of
 Renaissance Florence: *The Diaries of Buonaccorso*
Pitti and Gregorio Dati TB/1333
 J. H. PLUMB: The Italian Renaissance ^Δ TB/1161
 A. F. POLLARD: Henry VIII ^{o Δ} TB/1249
 A. F. POLLARD: Wolsey: *Church and State in 16th Cen-*
tury England ^{o Δ} TB/1248
 CECIL ROTH: The Jews in the Renaissance. *Illus.* TB/834
 A. L. ROWSE: The Expansion of Elizabethan England. ^{o Δ}
Illus. TB/1220
 GORDON RUFF: Luther's Progress to the Diet of Worms ^{o Δ}
 TB/120
 FERDINAND SCHEVILL: Medieval and Renaissance Flor-
 ence. *Illus.* Vol. I TB/1090; Vol. II TB/1091
 R. H. TAWNEY: The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth
 Century TB/1315
 G. M. TREVELYAN: England in the Age of Wycliffe, 1368-
 1520 ^{o Δ} TB/1112
 VESPASIANO: Renaissance Princes, Popes, and Prelates:
The Vespasiano Memoirs TB/1111

History: Modern European

MAX BELOFF: The Age of Absolutism, 1660-1815 ^Δ
 TB/1062
 EUGENE C. BLACK, Ed.: European Political History, 1815-
 1870: *Aspects of Liberalism* TB/1331
 ASA BRIGGS: The Making of Modern England, 1784-
 1867: *The Age of Improvement* ^{o Δ} TB/1203
 CRANE BRINTON: A Decade of Revolution, 1789-1799. *
Illus. TB/3018
 D. W. BROGAN: The Development of Modern France. ^{o Δ}
 Vol. I TB/1184; Vol. II TB/1185
 ALAN BULLOCK: Hitler, A Study in Tyranny ^{o Δ} TB/1123
 E. H. CARR: German-Soviet Relations Between the Two
 World Wars, 1919-1939 TB/1278
 E. H. CARR: International Relations Between the Two
 World Wars, 1919-1939 ^{o Δ} TB/1279
 E. H. CARR: The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939 ^{o Δ}
 TB/1122
 GORDON A. CRAIG: From Bismarck to Adenauer: *Aspects*
of German Statecraft. Revised Edition TB/1171
 DENIS DIDEROT: The Encyclopedia: *Selections. Ed. and*
trans. by Stephen Gendzier TB/1299
 FRANKLIN L. FORD: Robe and Sword: *The Regrouping of*
the French Aristocracy after Louis XIV TB/1217

RENÉ FUELOEP-MILLER: The Mind and Face of Bolshe-
 vism TB/1188
 ALBERT GOODWIN, Ed.: The European Nobility in the
 Eighteenth Century ^Δ TB/1313
 ALBERT GUÉRARD: France in the Classical Age ^Δ TB/1183
 CARLTON J. H. HAYES: A Generation of Materialism, 1871-
 1900. * *Illus.* TB/3039
 STANLEY HOFFMANN et al.: In Search of France TB/1219
 LIONEL KOCHAN: The Struggle for Germany: 1914-45
 TB/1304
 HANS KOHN: The Mind of Germany ^Δ TB/1204
 HANS KOHN, Ed.: The Mind of Modern Russia TB/1065
 WALTER LAQUEUR & GEORGE L. MOSSE, Eds.: Education and
 Social Structure in the 20th Century ^{o Δ} TB/1339
 WALTER LAQUEUR & GEORGE L. MOSSE, Eds.: International
 Fascism, 1920-1945 ^{o Δ} TB/1276
 WALTER LAQUEUR & GEORGE L. MOSSE, Eds.: The Left-Wing
 Intellectuals between the Wars, 1919-1939 ^{o Δ} TB/1286
 WALTER LAQUEUR & GEORGE L. MOSSE, Eds.: Literature and
 Politics in the 20th Century ^{o Δ} TB/1328
 WALTER LAQUEUR & GEORGE L. MOSSE, Eds.: The New
 History: *Trends in Historical Research and Writing*
since World War II ^{o Δ} TB/1327
 WALTER LAQUEUR & GEORGE L. MOSSE, Eds.: 1914: *The*
Coming of the First World War ^{o Δ} TB/1306
 FRANK E. MANUEL: The Prophets of Paris: *Turgot, Con-*
dorcet, Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Comte TB/1218
 KINGSLEY MARTIN: French Liberal Thought in the Eight-
 eenth Century TB/1114
 ROBERT K. MERTON: Science, Technology and Society in
 Seventeenth Century England [¶] TB/1324
 L. B. NAMIER: Facing East: *Essays on Germany, the*
Balkans, and Russia in the 20th Century ^Δ TB/1280
 L. B. NAMIER: Personalities and Powers ^Δ TB/1186
 NAPOLEON III: Napoleonic Ideas: *Des Idées Napoléoni-*
ennes, par le Prince Napoléon-Louis Bonaparte
 TB/1336
 FRANZ NEUMANN: Behemoth: *The Structure and Practice*
of National Socialism 1933-1944 ^Δ TB/1289
 DAVID OGG: Europe of the Ancien Régime, 1715-
 1783 ** ^{o Δ} TB/1271
 JOHN PLAMENATZ: German Marxism and Russian Com-
 munist. ^{o Δ} *New Preface by the Author* TB/1189
 PENFIELD ROBERTS: The Quest for Security, 1715-1740. *
Illus. TB/3016
 GEORGE RUDÉ: Revolutionary Europe, 1783-1815 ** ^{o Δ}
 TB/1272

LOUIS, DUC DE SAINT-SIMON: Versailles, The Court, and
 Louis XIV ^Δ TB/1250
 HUGH SETON-WATSON: Eastern Europe Between the
 Wars, 1918-1941 TB/1330
 A. J. P. TAYLOR: From Napoleon to Lenin: *Historical*
Essays ^{o Δ} TB/1268
 A. J. P. TAYLOR: The Habsburg Monarchy, 1809-1918 ^{o Δ}
 TB/1187
 G. M. TREVELYAN: British History in the Nineteenth Cen-
 tury and After: 1782-1919 ^Δ TB/1251
 H. R. TREVOR-ROPER: Historical Essays ^{o Δ} TB/1269
 ELIZABETH WISKEMANN: Europe of the Dictators, 1919-
 1945 ** ^{o Δ} TB/1273
 JOHN B. WOLF: France: 1814-1919 TB/3019

Intellectual History & History of Ideas

HERSCHEL BAKER: The Image of Man TB/1047
 R. R. BOLGAR: The Classical Heritage and Its Benefici-
 aries ^Δ TB/1125
 J. BRONOWSKI & BRUCE MAZLISH: The Western Intellectual
 Tradition: *From Leonardo to Hegel* TB/3001
 NORMAN COHN: Pursuit of the Millennium ^Δ TB/1037
 C. C. GILLISPIE: Genesis and Geology: *The Decades be-*
fore Darwin [§] TB/51
 FRANK E. MANUEL: The Prophets of Paris: *Turgot, Con-*
dorcet, Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Comte TB/1218
 BRUNO SNELL: The Discovery of the Mind: *The Greek*
Origins of European Thought ^Δ TB/1018

W. WARREN WAGAR, Ed.: *European Intellectual History since Darwin and Marx* TB/1297
 PHILIP P. WIENER: *Evolution and the Founders of Pragmatism*. Δ *Foreword by John Dewey* TB/1212

Literature, Poetry, The Novel & Criticism

JACQUES BARZUN: *The House of Intellect* Δ TB/1051
 JAMES BOSWELL: *The Life of Dr. Johnson & The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson* LL.D. $\circ \Delta$ TB/1254
 ERNST R. CURTIUS: *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* Δ TB/2015
 A. R. HUMPHREYS: *The Augustan World: Society in 18th Century England* $\circ \Delta$ TB/1105
 RICHMOND LATTIMORE: *The Poetry of Greek Tragedy* Δ TB/1257
 J. B. LEISHMAN: *The Monarch of Wit: An Analytical and Comparative Study of the Poetry of John Donne* $\circ \Delta$ TB/1258
 J. B. LEISHMAN: *Themes and Variations in Shakespeare's Sonnets* $\circ \Delta$ TB/1259
 SAMUEL PEPPS: *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. $\circ$ *Edited by O. F. Morshead. Illus. by Ernest Shepard* TB/1007
 V. DE S. PINTO: *Crisis in English Poetry, 1880-1940* $\circ \Delta$ TB/1260

ROBERT PREYER, Ed.: *Victorian Literature* TB/1302
 C. K. STEAD: *The New Poetic: Yeats to Eliot* $\circ \Delta$ TB/1263
 PAGET TOYNBEE: *Dante Alighieri: His Life and Works*. *Edited with Intro. by Charles S. Singleton* TB/1206
 DOROTHY VAN GHENT: *The English Novel* TB/1050
 BASIL WILLEY: *Nineteenth Century Studies: Coleridge to Matthew Arnold* $\circ \Delta$ TB/1261
 BASIL WILLEY: *More Nineteenth Century Studies: A Group of Honest Doubters* $\circ \Delta$ TB/1262
 RAYMOND WILLIAMS: *Culture and Society, 1780-1950* $\circ \Delta$ TB/1252
 RAYMOND WILLIAMS: *The Long Revolution* $\circ \Delta$ TB/1253

Myth, Symbol & Folklore

MIRCEA ELIADE: *Cosmos and History* $\S \Delta$ TB/2050
 MIRCEA ELIADE: *Rites and Symbols of Initiation: The Mysteries of Birth and Rebirth* $\S \Delta$ TB/1236
 THEODOR H. GASTER: *Thespis: Ritual, Myth & Drama in the Ancient Near East* $\circ \Delta$ TB/1281
 DORA & ERWIN PANOFKY: *Pandora's Box* Δ TB/2021

Philosophy

G. E. M. ANSCOMBE: *An Introduction to Wittgenstein's Tractatus*. $\circ \Delta$ *Second edition, Revised* TB/1210
 HENRI BERGSON: *Time and Free Will* $\circ \Delta$ TB/1021
 H. J. BLACKHAM: *Six Existential Thinkers* $\circ \Delta$ TB/1002
 CRANE BRINTON: *Nietzsche* TB/1197
 ERNST CASSIRER: *The Individual and the Cosmos in Renaissance Philosophy* Δ TB/1097
 FREDERICK COPELSTON: *Medieval Philosophy* $\circ \Delta$ TB/376
 F. M. CORNFORD: *Principium Sapientiae: A Study of the Origins of Greek Philosophical Thought* TB/1213
 F. M. CORNFORD: *From Religion to Philosophy* $\S$ TB/20
 A. P. D'ENTRÈVES: *Natural Law* Δ TB/1223
 MARVIN FARBER: *The Aims of Phenomenology* TB/1291
 PAUL FRIEDLÄNDER: *Plato: An Introduction* Δ TB/2017
 J. GLENN GRAY: *The Warriors: Reflections on Men in Battle*. *Intro. by Hannah Arendt* TB/1294
 W. K. C. GUTHRIE: *The Greek Philosophers: From Thales to Aristotle* $\circ \Delta$ TB/1008
 G. W. F. HEGEL: *The Phenomenology of Mind* $\circ \Delta$ TB/1303
 F. H. HEINEMANN: *Existentialism and the Modern Predicament* Δ TB/28
 EDMUND HUSSERL: *Phenomenology and the Crisis of Philosophy* TB/1170
 IMMANUEL KANT: *The Doctrine of Virtue, being Part II of the Metaphysics of Morals* TB/110
 IMMANUEL KANT: *Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals. Trans. & analyzed by H. J. Paton* TB/1159
 IMMANUEL KANT: *Lectures on Ethics* $\S \Delta$ TB/105

IMMANUEL KANT: *Religion Within the Limits of Reason Alone*. $\S$ *Intro. by T. M. Greene & J. Silber* TB/67
 QUENTIN LAUER: *Phenomenology* TB/1169
 MAURICE MANDELBAUM: *The Problem of Historical Knowledge: An Answer to Relativism* TB/1338
 GABRIEL MARCEL: *Being and Having* Δ TB/310
 GEORGE A. MORGAN: *What Nietzsche Means* TB/1198
 H. J. PATON: *The Categorical Imperative: A Study in Kant's Moral Philosophy* Δ TB/1325
 MICHAEL POLANYI: *Personal Knowledge* Δ TB/1158
 WILLARD VAN ORMAN QUINE: *Elementary Logic. Revised Edition* TB/577
 WILLARD VAN ORMAN QUINE: *from a Logical Point of View: Logico-Philosophical Essays* TB/566
 BERTRAND RUSSELL et al.: *The Philosophy of Bertrand Russell* Vol. I TB/1095; Vol. II TB/1096
 L. S. STEBBING: *A Modern Introduction to Logic* Δ TB/538
 ALFRED NORTH WHITEHEAD: *Process and Reality: An Essay in Cosmology* Δ TB/1033
 PHILIP P. WIENER: *Evolution and the Founders of Pragmatism. Foreword by John Dewey* TB/1212
 LUDWIG WITTGENSTEIN: *The Blue and Brown Books* $\circ$ TB/1211

Political Science & Government

JEREMY BENTHAM: *The Handbook of Political Fallacies. Introduction by Crane Brinton* TB/1069
 C. E. BLACK: *The Dynamics of Modernization: A Study in Comparative History* TB/1321
 KENNETH E. BOULDING: *Conflict and Defense* TB/3024
 CRANE BRINTON: *English Political Thought in the Nineteenth Century* TB/1071
 ROBERT CONQUEST: *Power and Policy in the USSR: The Study of Soviet Dynasties* Δ TB/1307
 ROBERT DAHL & CHARLES E. LINDBLOM: *Politics, Economics, and Welfare* TB/3037
 F. L. GANSHOF: *Feudalism* Δ TB/1058
 G. P. GOOCH: *English Democratic Ideas in Seventeenth Century* TB/1006
 SIDNEY HOOK: *Reason, Social Myths and Democracy* Δ TB/1237
 DAN N. JACOBS, Ed.: *The New Communist Manifesto & Related Documents. Third edition, Revised* TB/1078
 HANS KOHN: *Political Ideologies of the 20th Century* TB/1277
 ROY C. MACRIDIS, Ed.: *Political Parties: Contemporary Trends and Ideas* TB/1322
 KINGSLEY MARTIN: *French Liberal Thought in the Eighteenth Century* Δ TB/1114
 BARRINGTON MOORE, Jr.: *Political Power and Social Theory: Seven Studies* $\P$ TB/1221
 BARRINGTON MOORE, JR.: *Soviet Politics—The Dilemma of Power* $\P$ TB/1222
 JOHN B. MORRALL: *Political Thought in Medieval Times* Δ TB/1076
 KARL R. POPPER: *The Open Society and Its Enemies* Δ Vol. I TB/1101; Vol. II TB/1102
 JOHN P. ROCHE, Ed.: *American Political Thought: From Jefferson to Progressivism* TB/1332
 CHARLES I. SCHOTTLAND, Ed.: *The Welfare State* TB/1323
 BENJAMIN I. SCHWARTZ: *Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao* TB/1308
 PETER WOLL, Ed.: *Public Administration and Policy* TB/1284

Psychology

ALFRED ADLER: *The Individual Psychology of Alfred Adler* Δ TB/1154
 ARTHUR BURTON & ROBERT E. HARRIS, Editors: *Clinical Studies of Personality* Vol. I TB/3075; Vol. II TB/3076
 HADLEY CANTRIL: *The Invasion from Mars: A Study in the Psychology of Panic* TB/1282
 HERBERT FINGARETTE: *The Self in Transformation* $\P$ TB/1177
 SIGMUND FREUD: *On Creativity and the Unconscious* $\S \Delta$ TB/45

WILLIAM JAMES: *Psychology: Briefer Course* TB/1034
 C. G. JUNG: *Psychological Reflections* ^Δ TB/2001
 KARL MENNINGER: *Theory of Psychoanalytic Technique* TB/1144
 ERICH NEUMANN: *Amor and Psyche* ^Δ TB/2012
 MUZAHER SHERIF: *The Psychology of Social Norms* TB/3072

Sociology

JACQUES BARZUN: *Race: A Study in Superstition. Revised Edition* TB/1172
 BERNARD BERELSON, Ed.: *The Behavioral Sciences Today* TB/1127
 KENNETH B. CLARK: *Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power. Foreword by Gunnar Myrdal* TB/1317
 LEWIS A. COSER, Ed.: *Political Sociology* TB/1293
 ALLISON DAVIS & JOHN DOLLARD: *Children of Bondage* [¶] TB/3049
 ST. CLAIR DRAKE & HORACE R. CAYTON: *Black Metropolis* ^Δ Vol. I TB/1086; Vol. II TB/1087
 ALVIN W. GOULDNER: *Wildcat Strike* [¶] TB/1176
 CÉSAR GRAÑA: *Modernity and Its Discontents: French Society and the French Man of Letters in the Nineteenth Century* [¶] TB/1318
 R. M. MACIVER: *Social Causation* TB/1153
 ROBERT K. MERTON, LEONARD BROOM, LEONARD S. COTTRELL, JR., Editors: *Sociology Today: Problems and Prospects* [¶] Vol. I TB/1173; Vol. II TB/1174
 TALCOTT PARSONS & EDWARD A. SHILS, Editors: *Toward a General Theory of Action* TB/1083
 ARNOLD ROSE: *The Negro in America* TB/3048
 GEORGE ROSEN: *Madness in Society: Chapters in the Historical Sociology of Mental Illness* [¶] TB/1337
 PHILIP SELZNICK: *TVA and the Grass Roots* TB/1230
 HERBERT SIMON: *The Shape of Automation* ^Δ TB/1245
 PITIRIM A. SOROKIN: *Contemporary Sociological Theories: Through the first quarter of the 20th Century* TB/3046
 WILLIAM I. THOMAS: *The Unadjusted Girl: With Cases and Standpoint for Behavior Analysis* [¶] TB/1319
 EDWARD A. TIRYAKIAN, Ed.: *Sociological Theory, Values and Sociocultural Change: Essays in Honor of Pitirim A. Sorokin* [¶] ^Δ TB/1316
 W. LLOYD WARNER & Associates: *Democracy in Jonesville: A Study in Quality and Inequality* TB/1129
 W. LLOYD WARNER: *Social Class in America* TB/1013

RELIGION

Ancient & Classical

J. H. BREASTED: *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt* TB/57
 HENRI FRANKFORT: *Ancient Egyptian Religion* TB/77
 G. RACHEL LEVY: *Religious Conceptions of the Stone Age and their Influence on European Thought* ^Δ TB/106
 MARTIN P. NILSSON: *Greek Folk Religion* ^Δ TB/78
 ERWIN ROHDE: *Psyche* ^Δ [§] Vol. I TB/140; Vol. II TB/141
 H. J. ROSE: *Religion in Greece and Rome* ^Δ TB/55

Biblical Thought & Literature

W. F. ALBRIGHT: *The Biblical Period from Abraham to Ezra* TB/102
 C. K. BARRETT, Ed.: *The New Testament Background: Selected Documents* ^Δ TB/86
 C. H. DODD: *The Authority of the Bible* ^Δ TB/43
 M. S. ENSLIN: *Christian Beginnings* ^Δ TB/5
 JOHN GRAY: *Archaeology and the Old Testament World.* ^Δ ^{Illus.} TB/127
 JAMES MULLENBURG: *The Way of Israel* ^Δ TB/133
 H. H. ROWLEY: *Growth of the Old Testament* ^Δ TB/107
 GEORGE ADAM SMITH: *Historical Geography of Holy Land.* ^Δ ^{Revised and reset} TB/138
 WALTHER ZIMMERLI: *The Law and the Prophets: A Study of the Meaning of the Old Testament* ^Δ TB/144

The Judaic Tradition

MARTIN BUBER: *Eclipse of God* ^Δ TB/12
 MARTIN BUBER: *Hasidism and Modern Man.* ^Δ *Edited and Trans. by Maurice Friedman* TB/839
 MARTIN BUBER: *The Knowledge of Man* ^Δ TB/135
 MARTIN BUBER: *Moses* ^Δ TB/837
 MARTIN BUBER: *Pointing the Way* ^Δ TB/103
 MARTIN BUBER: *The Prophetic Faith* TB/73
 GENESIS: *The NJV. Translation* TB/836

Christianity: General

ROLAND H. BANTON: *Christendom: A Short History of Christianity and its Impact on Western Civilization.* ^Δ ^{Illus.} Vol. I TB/131; Vol. II TB/132

Christianity: Origins & Early Development

AUGUSTINE: *An Augustine Synthesis.* ^Δ *Edited by Erich Przywara* TB/335
 W. D. DAVIES: *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology* ^Δ ^Δ TB/146
 ADOLF DEISSMANN: *Paul: A Study in Social and Religious History* TB/15
 EDWARD GIBBON: *The Triumph of Christendom in the Roman Empire.* [§] ^Δ ^{Illus.} TB/46
 EDGAR J. GOODSPEED: *A Life of Jesus* TB/1
 ADOLF HARNACK: *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries* TB/92
 R. K. HARRISON: *The Dead Sea Scrolls* ^Δ ^Δ TB/84
 EDWIN HATCH: *The Influence of Greek Ideas on Christianity* [§] ^Δ TB/18
 GERHART B. LADNER: *The Idea of Reform: Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers* TB/149
 ARTHUR DARBY NOCK: *St. Paul* ^Δ ^Δ TB/104
 ORIGEN: *On First Principles* ^Δ TB/311
 SULPICIOUS SEVERUS et al.: *The Western Fathers* ^Δ TB/309
 JOHANNES WEISS: *Earliest Christianity* Vol. I TB/53; Vol. II TB/54

Christianity: The Middle Ages and The Reformation

ANSELM OF CANTERBURY: *Truth, Freedom and Evil: Three Philosophical Dialogues* TB/317
 JOHN CALVIN & JACOPO SADOLETO: *A Reformation Debate. Edited by John C. Olin* TB/1239
 G. CONSTANT: *The Reformation in England* ^Δ TB/314
 JOHANNES ECKHART: *Meister Eckhart: A Modern Translation by R. B. Blakney* TB/8
 DESIDERIUS ERASMUS: *Christian Humanism and the Reformation* TB/1166

Christianity: The Protestant Tradition

KARL BARTH: *Church Dogmatics: A Selection* ^Δ TB/95
 KARL BARTH: *Dogmatics in Outline* ^Δ TB/56
 KARL BARTH: *The Word of God and the Word of Man* TB/13
 RUDOLF BULTMANN et al.: *Translating Theology into the Modern Age* TB/252
 NELS F. S. FERRÉ: *Swedish Contributions to Modern Theology. New chapter by William A. Johnson* TB/147
 ERNST KÄSEMANN, et al.: *Distinctive Protestant and Catholic Themes Reconsidered* TB/253
 SOREN KIERKEGAARD: *On Authority and Revelation* TB/139
 SOREN KIERKEGAARD: *Crisis in the Life of an Actress and Other Essays on Drama* ^Δ TB/145
 SOREN KIERKEGAARD: *Edifying Discourses* ^Δ TB/32
 SOREN KIERKEGAARD: *The Journals of Kierkegaard* ^Δ TB/52
 SOREN KIERKEGAARD: *The Point of View for My Work as an Author* [§] TB/88
 SOREN KIERKEGAARD: *The Present Age* [§] ^Δ TB/94

SOREN KIERKEGAARD: Purity of Heart Δ TB/4
 SOREN KIERKEGAARD: Repetition Δ TB/117
 SOREN KIERKEGAARD: Works of Love Δ TB/122
 WALTER LOWRIE: Kierkegaard Vol. I TB/89
 Vol. II TB/90
 JOHN MACQUARRIE: The Scope of Demythologizing:
Bultmann and his Critics Δ TB/134
 WOLFHART PANNENBERG, et al.: History and Hermeneutic
 TB/254
 JAMES M. ROBINSON et al.: The Bultmann School of Biblical
 Interpretation: New Directions? TB/251
 F. SCHLEIERMACHER: The Christian Faith. Δ *Introduction*
by Richard R. Niebuhr Vol. I TB/108; Vol. II TB/109
 PAUL TILlich: Dynamics of Faith Δ TB/42
 EVELYN UNDERHILL: Worship Δ TB/10

Christianity: The Roman and Eastern Traditions

DOM CUTHBERT BUTLER: Western Mysticism $\S$ $\circ$ Δ TB/312
 A. ROBERT CAPONIGRI, Ed.: Modern Catholic Thinkers Δ
 Vol. I TB/306; Vol. II TB/307
 THOMAS CORBISHLEY, S. J.: Roman Catholicism TB/112
 G. P. FEDOTOV: The Russian Religious Mind: *Kievan*
Christianity, the 10th to the 13th Centuries TB/370
 ÉTIENNE GILSON: The Spirit of Thomism TB/313
 GABRIEL MARCEL: Being and Having TB/310
 GABRIEL MARCEL: Homo Viator TB/397
 FRANCIS DE SALES: Introduction to the Devout Life TB/316
 GUSTAVE WEIGEL, S. J.: Catholic Theology in Dialogue TB/301

Oriental Religions: Far Eastern, Near Eastern

TOR ANDRAE: Mohammed $\S$ Δ TB/62
 EDWARD CONZE: Buddhism $\circ$ Δ TB/58
 ANANDA COOMARASWAMY: Buddha and the Gospel of
 Buddhism. Δ *Illus.* TB/119
 H. G. CREEL: Confucius and the Chinese Way TB/63
 FRANKLIN EDGERTON, Trans. & Ed.: The Bhagavad Gita TB/115
 SWAMI NIKHILANANDA, Trans. & Ed.: The Upanishads: A
One-Volume Abridgment Δ TB/114

Philosophy of Religion

NICOLAS BERDYAEV: The Beginning and the End $\S$ Δ TB/14
 NICOLAS BERDYAEV: Christian Existentialism Δ TB/130
 NICOLAS BERDYAEV: The Destiny of Man Δ TB/61
 RUDOLF BULTMANN: History and Eschatology $\circ$ TB/91
 RUDOLF BULTMANN AND FIVE CRITICS: Kerygma and
 Myth: *A Theological Debate* Δ TB/80
 RUDOLF BULTMANN AND KARL KUND SIN: Form Criticism:
Two Essays on New Testament Research Δ TB/96
 MIRCEA ELIADE: Myths, Dreams, and Mysteries: *The*
Encounter between Contemporary Faiths and Archaic
Realities $\S$ $\circ$ Δ TB/1320
 MIRCEA ELIADE: The Sacred and the Profane TB/81
 LUDWIG FEUERBACH: The Essence of Christianity $\S$ TB/11
 ÉTIENNE GILSON: The Spirit of Thomism TB/313
 ADOLF HARNACK: What is Christianity? $\S$ Δ TB/17
 FRIEDRICH HEGEL: On Christianity TB/79
 KARL HEIM: Christian Faith and Natural Science Δ TB/16
 IMMANUEL KANT: Religion Within the Limits of Reason
 Alone. $\S$ *Intro. by T. M. Greene & J. Silber* TB/67
 K. E. KIRK: The Vision of God Δ TB/137
 JOHN MACQUARRIE: An Existentialist Theology: *A Com-*
parison of Heidegger and Bultmann $\circ$ Δ TB/125
 EUGEN ROSENSTOCK-HUESSY: The Christian Future or the
 Modern Mind Outrun. *Intro. by Harold Stahmer* TB/143
 PIERRE TEILHARD DE CHARDIN: The Divine Milieu $\circ$ Δ TB/384
 PIERRE TEILHARD DE CHARDIN: The Phenomenon of
 Man $\circ$ Δ TB/385
 PAUL TILlich: Morality and Beyond TB/142

Religion, Culture & Society

WILLIAM A. CLEBSCH & CHARLES R. JAEKLE: Pastoral Care
 in Historical Perspective: *An Essay with Exhibits.*
New Preface by the Authors TB/148
 C. C. GILLISPIE: Genesis and Geology: *The Decades be-*
fore Darwin $\S$ TB/51
 KYLE HASELDEN: The Racial Problem in Christian Per-
 spective TB/116
 WALTER KAUFMANN, Ed.: Religion from Tolstoy to
 Camus TB/123
 H. RICHARD NIEBUHR: Christ and Culture Δ TB/3
 H. RICHARD NIEBUHR: The Kingdom of God in America TB/49
 TIMOTHY L. SMITH: Revivalism and Social Reform: *Amer-*
ican Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War Δ TB/1229

NATURAL SCIENCES AND MATHEMATICS

Biological Sciences

CHARLOTTE AUERBACH: The Science of Genetics Σ Δ TB/568
 W. E. LE GROS CLARK: The Antecedents of Man $\circ$ Δ TB/559
 W. H. DOWDESWELL: Animal Ecology. Δ *Illus.* TB/543
 R. W. GERARD: Unresting Cells. *Illus.* TB/541
 EDMUND W. SINNOTT: Cell and Psyche: *The Biology of*
Purpose TB/546
 C. H. WADDINGTON: The Nature of Life Δ TB/580

History of Science

MARIE BOAS: The Scientific Renaissance, 1450-1630 $\circ$ Δ TB/583
 W. DAMPIER, Ed.: Readings in the Literature of Science. *Illus.* TB/512
 A. HUNTER DUPREE: Science in the Federal Government:
A History of Policies and Activities to 1940 Δ TB/573
 ALEXANDRE KOYRÉ: From the Closed World to the Infinite
 Universe Δ TB/31
 A. G. VAN MELSEN: From Atomos to Atom: *A History of*
the Concept Atom TB/517
 STEPHEN TOULMIN & JUNE GOODFIELD: The Architecture of
 Matter $\circ$ Δ TB/584
 STEPHEN TOULMIN & JUNE GOODFIELD: The Discovery of
 Time $\circ$ Δ TB/585

Mathematics

E. W. BETH: The Foundations of Mathematics Δ TB/581
 S. KÖRNER: The Philosophy of Mathematics Δ TB/547
 WILLARD VAN ORMAN QUINE: Mathematical Logic TB/558
 FREDERICK WAISMANN: Introduction to Mathematical
 Thinking. *Foreword by Karl Menger* TB/511

Philosophy of Science

R. B. BRAITHWAITE: Scientific Explanation TB/515
 J. BRONOWSKI: Science and Human Values Δ TB/505
 ALBERT EINSTEIN et al.: Albert Einstein: *Philosopher-*
Scientist Vol. I TB/502; Vol. II TB/503
 WERNER HEISENBERG: Physics and Philosophy Δ TB/549
 KARL R. POPPER: Logic of Scientific Discovery Δ TB/576
 STEPHEN TOULMIN: Foresight and Understanding Δ TB/564
 STEPHEN TOULMIN: The Philosophy of Science Δ TB/513

Physics and Cosmology

JOHN E. ALLEN: Aerodynamics Δ TB/582
 P. W. BRIDGMAN: Nature of Thermodynamics TB/537
 C. V. DURELL: Readable Relativity Δ TB/530
 ARTHUR EDDINGTON: Space, Time and Gravitation: *An*
Outline of the General Relativity Theory TB/510
 GEORGE GAMOW: Biography of Physics Σ Δ TB/567
 STEPHEN TOULMIN & JUNE GOODFIELD: The Fabric of the
 Heavens: *The Development of Astronomy and Dy-*
namics. Δ *Illus.* TB/579

BW2435 .M16 1968 c.2
Modern Christian movements

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 00152 7565

